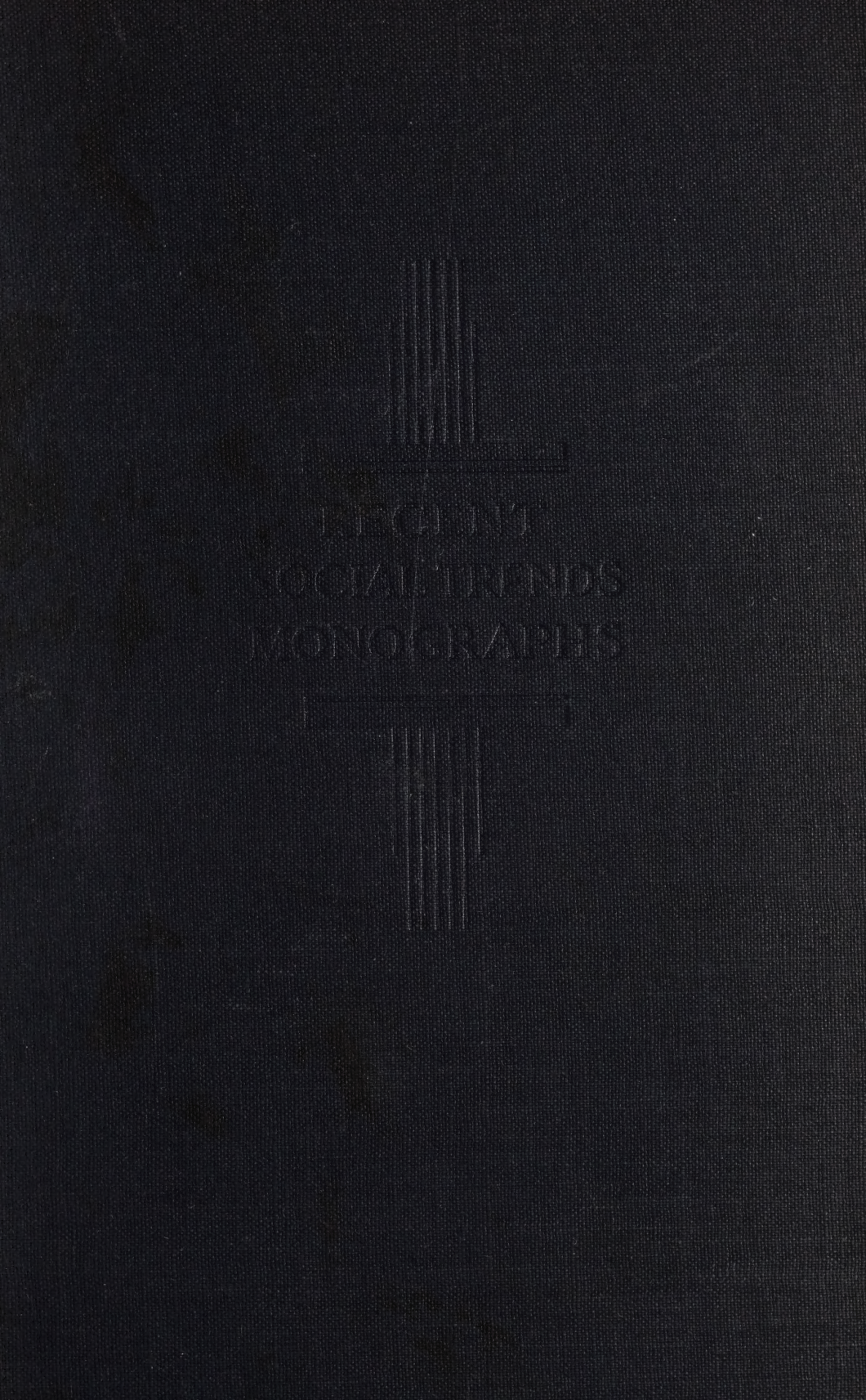
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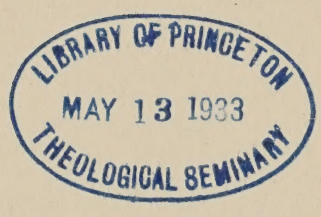

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RURAL SOCIAL TRENDS

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RURAL SOCIAL TRENDS

BY

EDMUND de S. BRUNNER

Director of Town and Country Survey Series, Institute of Social and Religious Research, and Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

AND

J. H. KOLB

Professor of Rural Sociology, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin

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FOREWORD BY THE COMMITTEE

Rural Social Trends by Edmund de S. Brunner and J. H. Kolb is one of a series of monographs published under the direction of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, embodying scientific information assembled for the use of the Committee in the preparation of its report entitled *Recent Social Trends in the United States.*

The Committee was named by President Herbert Hoover in December, 1929, to survey social changes in this country in order to throw light on the emerging problems which now confront or which may be expected later to confront the people of the United States. The undertaking is unique in our history. For the first time the head of the Nation has called upon a group of social scientists to sponsor and direct a broad scientific study of the factors of change in modern society.

Funds for the researches were granted by the Rockefeller Foundation, an expert staff was recruited from universities and other scientific institutions, and a series of investigations was begun early in 1930 and concluded in 1932. The complete report contains the findings of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends together with twenty-nine chapters prepared by experts in the various fields.

Modern social life is so closely integrated as a whole that no change can occur in any of its phases without affecting other phases in some measure. Social problems arise largely from such unplanned reactions of the rapidly changing phases of social life upon the more stable phases. To give a few examples: changes in industrial technique react upon employment, changes in the character of adult work affect educational needs, changes in international relations affect domestic politics, changes in immigration policy affect the growth of population and the demand for farm products. changes in consumption habits affect the demand for leisure and facilities for enjoying it, changes in demands for social service by governmental agencies affect taxes and public debts, changes in methods of communication tend to standardize the mode of life in country and city. The effects noted in this list of illustrations in their turn cause other changes, and so on without assignable limits.

The usual practice of concentrating attention upon one social problem at a time often betrays us into overlooking these intricate relations. Even when we find what appears to be a satisfactory solution of a single problem, we are likely to produce new problems by putting that solution into practice. Hence the need of making a comprehensive survey of the

many social changes which are proceeding simultaneously, with an eye to their reactions upon one another. That task is attempted in the Committee's report. Of course the list of changes there considered is not exhaustive. Nor can all the subtle interactions among social changes be traced.

To safeguard the conclusions against bias, the researches were restricted to the analysis of objective data. Since the available data do not cover all phases of the many subjects studied, it was often impossible to answer questions of keen interest. But what is set forth has been made as trustworthy as the staff could make it by careful checking with factual records. Discussions which are not limited by the severe requirements of scientific method have their uses, which the Committee rates highly. Yet an investigation initiated by the President in the hope that the findings may be of service in dealing with the national problems of today and tomorrow, should be kept as free as possible from emotional coloring and unverifiable conjectures. Accuracy and reliability are more important in such an undertaking than liveliness or zeal to do good. If men and women of all shades of opinion from extreme conservatism to extreme radicalism can find a common basis of secure knowledge to build upon, the social changes of the future may be brought in larger measure under the control of social intelligence.

The Committee's researches were not confined to preparing a general report laid out with proper regard for balance. Intensive investigations of considerable length were carried out in several directions where the importance of the subjects warranted and adequate data were available. Some investigators were rewarded by especially valuable developments of their programs on a scale which made it impossible to condense the results into a single chapter without serious loss. In these cases separate monographs are necessary to provide adequate presentation of the evidence and the findings. However, at least a part of the subject matter of each monograph is dealt with in the Committee's general report, which should be read by all who wish to see a rounded picture of social trends.

PREFACE

The primary purpose of this volume is to present the results of a study of changes in rural social life in the first three decades of the present century, and especially in the decade 1920 to 1930. This study was originally initiated by the Institute of Social and Religious Research under the direction of Edmund de S. Brunner. Later, at the request of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, it became the rural section of the investigation of social change made by the Committee. The coöperation of the Institute and the Committee, which provided additional funds, made possible an expansion of the scope of the investigation at certain points,[1] and the appointment of J. H. Kolb to be associated in the directorship.

The discussion falls into two main phases: the opening chapters are concerned with those factors that underlie and condition rural social life and the trends which are developing. These earlier chapters deal with rural population, its mobility and its changing characteristics, with the changing agricultural situation and its social implications, with variations in the structure of rural communities and the inter-relationships of open-country and village dwellers and of both with the city. The later chapters present in detail information about the economic, educational, social and religious life, organizations and institutions of rural communities, and the developments of the decade 1920–1930.

The data upon which this volume rests are almost exclusively of two types. First, United States census data, much of it unpublished, was secured for several hundred counties and for 177 agricultural villages.[2] Second, trained investigators were sent into 140 agricultural village communities, including the villages and their rural hinterland; and into twenty-six counties. Except for five of these counties, all these areas had been previously studied by the Institute of Social and Religious Research in either 1921 or 1924. The five counties had been previously surveyed by state colleges of agriculture. The same techniques previously employed were used. The studies, with the exception of one county, were under the direction of the same individuals who carried on the original investigations. In some cases the same field workers visited localities they had previously surveyed.

[1] For a statement as to the history and methodology of the study, see Appendix A.

[2] By an "agricultural village" is meant a place of between 250 and 2,500 population that is located in a strictly farming area and acts as a service station to the surrounding countryside. Some of the villages studied were slightly in excess of 2,500. See Appendix A on method.

This volume, therefore, presents a picture of rural social change based on field studies of identical communities and counties located in every major region of the United States. This is the first time that such a comparative study on such a scale has ever been made in the rural field.

The investigators not only secured detailed information about the particular situation and problems found in every locality visited and the changes that had taken place since last it was studied, but also filled out rather elaborate questionnaires calling for precise quantitative facts about many aspects of rural life. This volume therefore attempts to present a picture of the American rural community in 1930, to contrast it with the earlier conditions, and to offer certain suggestive explanations or interpretations of those changes that were found.

Edmund de S. Brunner.
J. H. Kolb.

New York, N. Y.,
January, 1933.

CONTENTS

Page

Foreword v

Preface vii

I. Rural Population, Its Mobility and Changing Characteristics 1

II. Country Life and Agriculture 37

III. Village Growth 73

IV. Country and Village Relations 86

V. Rural and Urban Relations hips 111

VI. Merchandising and Credit Services 144

VII. The Public School and Education 168

VIII. Religious Agencies and Services 208

IX. Social and Recreational Organizations 242

X. Rural Social Services 270

XI. Social Implications of Local Government 285

XII. 1930 and After 299

APPENDICES

A. History and Scope of the Study 313

B. Source Data on Rural and Village Population 321

C. Special Case-studies Showing Tendencies Regarding Neighborhood Changes 326

D. Source Data on Rural-urban Relations 333
Distribution 334
Agriculture 339
Merchandising 348

E. Data on Village and Open Country Churches 352

F. Source Data on Other Social Institutions 369
Schools 369
Social Organizations 372

G. Social Utilities and Wealth 373

Index 381

RURAL SOCIAL TRENDS

Chapter I

RURAL POPULATION: ITS MOBILITY AND CHANGING CHARACTERISTICS

THE first third of the twentieth century has been a period of rapid social change, and in these changes rural America has shared. Agricultural technique has been greatly improved by the use of the machine; and the automobile has widened the range of the farmer's contacts. The social structure of open country and neighborhood have been altered thereby; and the village has taken on new significance from the increased contacts of farmers and villagers and of both with the city. New relationships have developed, along with new adjustments to the stores, schools, churches and other social institutions and organizations of village and country. These changes and the trends they seem to indicate, especially in the decade 1920 to 1930, will form the theme of this book.

At the outset, some attention will be given to the rural population, its mobility and changing characteristics. The history of America, from one point of view, may be written in terms of the migration of people, especially from Europe to the new world, but also constantly within the nation itself. Trends in rural life, from the point of view of population, are characterized by two great movements, the one westward, the other cityward. For decades the former was the greater; for the half century ending in 1930 the latter has been the more significant. Within these great population streams as they flowed on there have been from time to time many eddies and counter-currents. Mobility of population within the nation itself has been one of the privileges of our people. Its importance has been recognized by the census, which publishes data as to the proportion of each state's population that has originated in other states, and also as to the numbers of living persons born in each state and now residing in others. Both the westward and the urbanward migration have been fully recognized; but the latter, especially, has been none too well studied from a sociological point of view, though its effects on rural America have been carefully noted. Existing data therefore are more suggestive than conclusive; but of the sociological importance of migration there can be no doubt.

The Westward Migration.—The hardy English who settled in Plymouth and on Cape Cod, constantly reinforced from home, spread

fan-like through New England, thence to eastern and central New York, to Ohio, to Wisconsin and Iowa, and finally through the western mountains to the Pacific Coast. Similarly from other sections of the Atlantic seaboard, led by the more restless and adventuresome, an increasing number of thousands followed the pioneers. The westward stream of migration never ceased flowing. Before the area between the Appalachians and the Mississippi had been fully settled, new pioneers were penetrating into the further West. By 1870 nearly two and a half million persons born east of the Mississippi were living west of the river. They formed more than two-fifths of the West's total population and one-twelfth of all living persons born in the eastern half of the United States. As the occupational data gathered by the census show, a considerable majority of these people in many of the states were engaged in agriculture.

By 1890 four and one-third millions, a tenth of all living persons born east of the Mississippi, had crossed the river; they made up nearly one-third of the West's population. Each decade the number increased up to 1910, when more than five and a quarter millions of eastern birth resided in the West—one-eleventh of all living eastern-born persons, and nearly a fourth of the West's total. From then on, the tide slackened slightly. In 1930 the census found less than 5.2 millions of Easterners in the West. They constituted only 6.6 percent of all persons in the United States of eastern birth, and less than one-sixth of the West's population, which between 1870 and 1930 grew from 5.75 to 33.8 millions. The economic opportunity of eastern industrialism plus the end of free land, among other causes, checked the tide. Indeed, by 1930, 1.65 million persons born in the West turned toward the Atlantic and were living east of the Mississippi; 600,000 more than in 1920, a million more than in 1910.[1]

These migrations have meant more than a movement of people. Along with the baggage stowed away in the prairie schooner, different streams of migrants inevitably took with them their distinctive social and cultural baggage: ideas of local government, of community organizations, of education, of architecture, even modes of speech and superstitions.

The farther west they travelled and the more they mingled with people from other regions and from Europe, the more their traditional mores were modified by increased social contacts and by the necessities of new environmental conditions. The town meeting of New England was carried west of the Hudson; but largely failed to survive outside its native

[1] Similarly there has been a movement from the South to the North two to three times as strong as the movement from north to south. This includes Negro migration from the South. (The North: New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central and West North Central census divisions. The South: South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central divisions.) Each census since 1910 has found just over 3 percent of those of northern birth in the South—double the proportion of 1870. On the other hand, Southerners in the North equalled 5.3 percent of all of southern birth in 1900, but 8.6 percent in 1930.

habitat, in part because the old technique failed to function in a new type of unit. But the educational ideals of New England persist to this day, as Oberlin in Ohio, Grinnell in Iowa, Whitman in Washington, and other colleges, testify.

The denominational distribution of the United States has in large measure followed the pattern of these migrations. Thus one of the Reformed bodies and one of the Lutheran synods followed naught but the Pennsylvania-German into central New York, the Valley of Virginia, central Ohio, and beyond. The country churches of these bodies even today are rarely found outside these areas of settlement, and the Pennsylvania-German farmer is rarely if ever found off limestone soil such as he had tilled successfully in the Palatinate for centuries before some of his forebears answered the call of Westward Ho and settled in the limestone hills of eastern Pennsylvania.

Moreover, these migrations often proceeded in waves. The original settlers did not always stay in their initial locations. Many places in Wisconsin for instance, betray their New England heritage in little more than their names. Plymouth, London, and other places are now peopled by Germans, Scandinavians or Swiss. Each new group laid down its own cultural deposit; and the sociologist, if he probes intensively, like the archaeologist investigating buried cities, can find and separate the traces of each migration. When an European group engulfed a settlement of New England origin, the church and social organizations were the first to feel the change. Congregationalism gave way to Lutheranism, the Masons to the Sons of Norway. The parochial school supplemented or mayhap competed with the public school, but the forms of government and the physical layout of the community as to roads remained all but untouched.

So other groups of people could be traced, some more, others less tenacious in holding to their traditional customs and resisting the modifying influences of the multiplying contacts with people from all sections of the land. Few if any of the communities of rural America can be understood without some knowledge of what stream or streams of migration contributed to their founding and subsequent history.

Nor should it be forgotten that these movements of native-born within the nation were augmented by the foreign-born who in increasing numbers, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century, settled on the farm lands of the Middle West. The effect of this now decreasing group upon the composition of rural population will be noted later in this chapter.

Unfortunately no national data exist to measure the actual numbers of rural people who have migrated either westward or urbanward. Some clues however may be secured by examining the information for certain rural divisions and states. Tables 1 and 2 are a first step in that measurement.

TABLE 1.—NATIVE POPULATION BORN IN OTHER CENSUS DIVISIONS, LIVING IN SPECIFIED DIVISION

Residence in census division	Born in other divisions						
	1870 percent	1880 percent	1890 percent	1900 percent	1910 percent	1920 percent	1930 percent
New England	4.0	5.0	5.9	7.5	7.7	8.2	7.8
Middle Atlantic	5.0	4.9	4.9	6.0	6.6	7.3	9.5
East North Central	23.8	17.9	13.7	12.2	11.3	13.0	15.8
West North Central	48.9	42.9	35.8	27.7	23.6	19.9	16.6
South Atlantic	3.1	3.4	3.5	4.1	4.9	6.7	7.6
East South Central	14.9	11.2	9.0	8.1	7.4	7.0	7.5
West South Central	37.1	31.9	27.7	25.9	24.4	21.2	17.1
Mountain	34.5	45.6	50.9	44.8	49.0	46.4	40.6
Pacific	50.6	44.0	48.7	44.6	53.0	51.1	52.5

Source: State of Birth of the Native Population, *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, 1930, p. 11.

TABLE 2.—NET GAIN OR LOSS THROUGH INTERDIVISIONAL MIGRATION OF NATIVE POPULATION, BY DIVISION

(In thousands)

Census division	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
New England	− 454.3	− 426.5	− 357.1	− 218.8	− 205.1	− 170.9	− 307.0
Middle Atlantic	−1,251.3	−1,367.8	−1,337.0	−1,088.2	− 932.5	− 805.3	− 255.6
East North Central	+ 842.0	+ 110.8	− 706.2	− 855.4	−1,376.4	− 898.2	+ 69.7
West North Central	+1,381.6	+1,880.2	+2,016.4	+1,328.6	+ 512.3	− 210.8	−1,236.4
South Atlantic	−1,142.7	−1,086.8	− 991.2	− 950.6	− 901.2	− 749.2	−1,088.8
East South Central	− 292.7	− 530.0	− 686.6	− 880.6	−1,176.9	−1,565.4	−1,915.4
West South Central	+ 630.7	+ 897.4	+1,037.7	+1,389.4	+1,634.6	+1,385.9	+ 808.9
Mountain	+ 72.6	+ 206.6	+ 413.4	+ 525.6	+ 869.3	+ 965.9	+ 677.6
Pacific	+ 214.1	+ 316.1	+ 610.7	+ 749.9	+1,575.9	+2,047.9	+3,246.9

Source: See Table 1.

In these tables is to be read the steady drain on the New England and Middle Atlantic states, and that largely from their rural areas. The indebtedness of the agrarian West to other sections of the United States is quite clear; but it is also clear that the high point in migration to the Middle West, that is in the East and West North Central census divisions, was reached in 1870 or prior to that time. Each succeeding census year since then has seen a decrease in the proportion, and usually in the number, of persons born in other regions but residing in the West North Central division. The same is true for the East North Central division, save that here the rise of the great industrial centers like Detroit, Cleveland, Gary and others attracted new migrants, not to the land but to the factories, during the 1920's.

The old South and the East South Central states have not held the same attraction to the migratory minded as has the Middle West. Despite

the growing proportion of the population residing in but born outside the South Atlantic states, the net loss of this area from migrations has been around a million at most census periods, and was higher in 1930 than at any other time since 1880. The steadily mounting loss of the East South Central states stood in 1930 at over 1.9 millions of persons.

The other southern division, the West South Central, while having a constantly smaller proportion of population born outside the division, has ever attracted more migrants than it lost. In this it shares the experience of the two western divisions whose drawing power has not yet been lost, though today the streams of migrants to the Pacific are enticed less by gold and agriculture and more by business, health and the cinema.

But it is when state data are examined that the story of population movement within the nation becomes quite clear. It suggests also that in recent years much of this migration has been from rural to urban centers.

A series of maps have been inserted that chart the movement of population from the rural state of Iowa to all other states in the union[1] for the years 1910, 1920 and 1930. Unfortunately it is not possible to show how many of these migrants originated on the farm, or even within the entire rural area of the state, but the fact that Iowa's population was from 74.4 percent to 63.6 percent rural in the years noted is suggestion at least of this migration. (See Figures 1 and 2.)

Another clue to the urbanward migration of rural people is to be found in the data which only the 1920 census presents concerning the mobility of urban and rural populations. The urban, it appears, has the greater proportion of migrants, as would be expected in view of the urbanward trend of population in the decades prior to 1930. Twenty-eight percent had been born in states other than those in which the cities where they lived were located. Here doubtless is a definite clue to the rural-urban migration. Of the rural people, 18.5 percent were residing in states other than those of their birth.

When the rural population in turn is divided into its farm and non-farm elements, the former is found to include fewer migrants. Only 14.7 percent of the farm population was living on farms in states other than those of birth; but 23.2 percent of the rural non-farm population was born outside the present state of residence. Here is evidence of the tendency discussed later in the chapter that the rural non-farm population, largely in villages, stands at a mid-point between city and farm.

These 1930 census figures are then a glimpse at the present status of the trend in migration in urban, rural, farm, and rural non-farm populations. They record a movement that took place prior to the taking of the last census. They are a single exposure in a moving-picture reel as yet

[1] These maps are reproduced through the courtesy of the office of Rural Life Studies, Dr. Charles J. Galpin, United States Department of Agriculture.

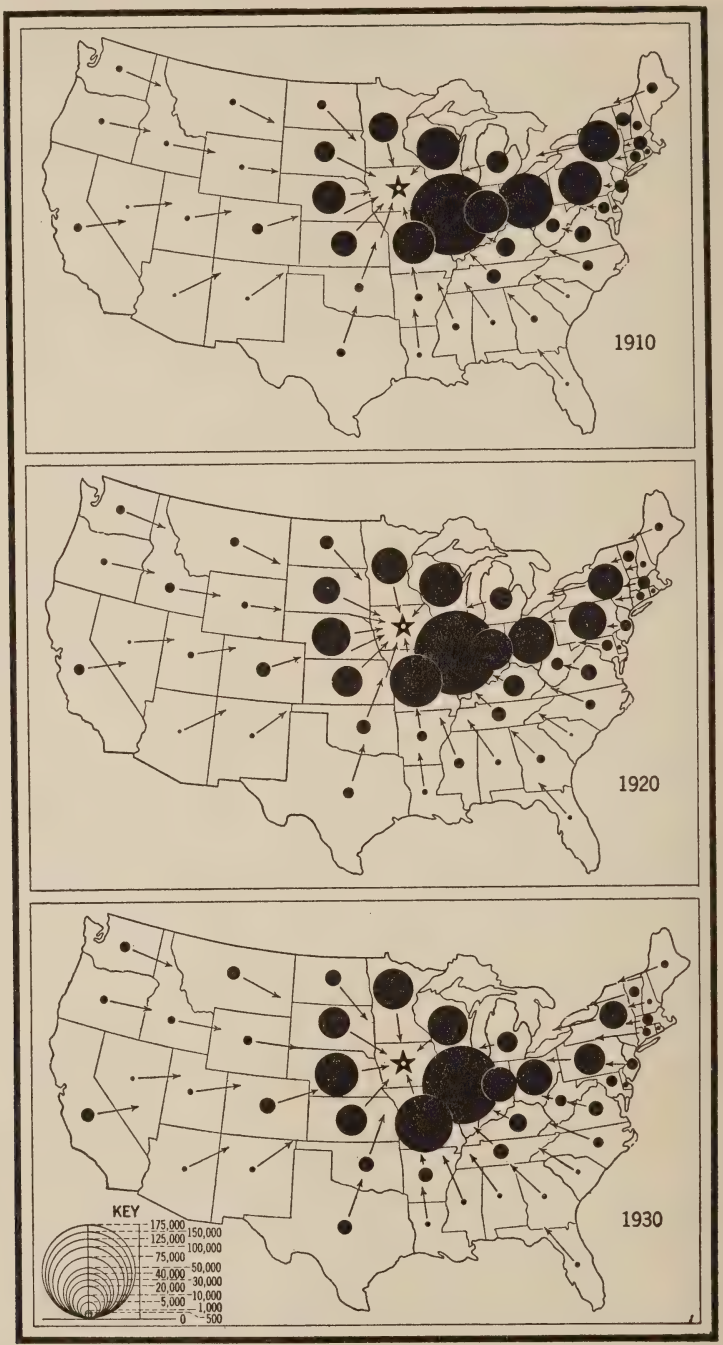

FIG. 1.—Native white migrants born in other states living in Iowa, 1910, 1920 and 1930.

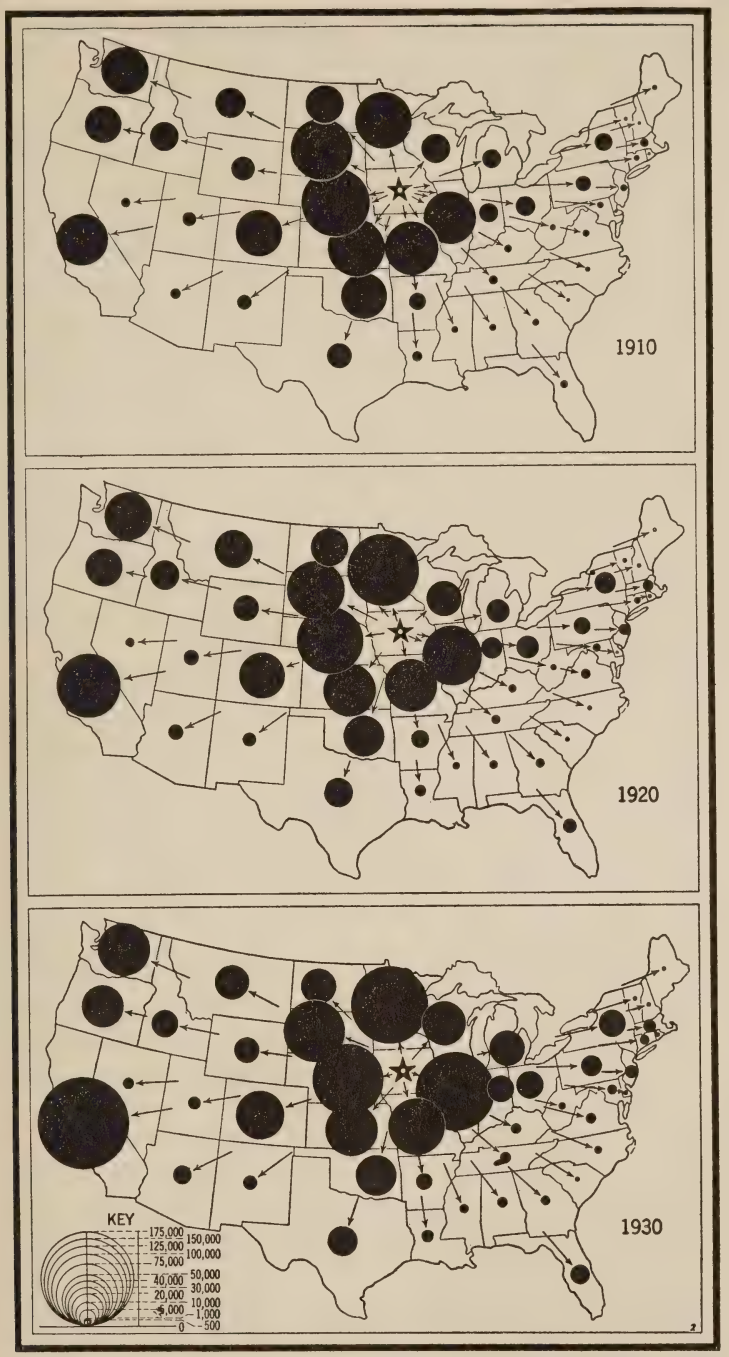

FIG. 2.—Native white migrants born in Iowa living in other states, 1910, 1920 and 1930.

uncompleted. They take no account, of course, of the migration within states.

The state by state data on the subject of the interstate migration of farm or non-farm rural people will repay far closer examination than a discussion such as this can make space for. Why should more persons born in Illinois have taken up farming outside their native state than have left any other of the states for a similar occupation? Illinois' net loss through the interstate migration of farm population is 50 percent larger than Iowa's, the next heaviest loser. While the farm population of all Mountain and Pacific states has gained in these interstate migrations, why should Oklahoma's net gain be more than twice as large as California's, the second largest gainer? These facts and many others are detailed in tables in Appendix B, quoted from the census. They give data for each state: from them it is possible to see just what contribution each census division has made to the rural farm or non-farm population of every other. Each division, except the Pacific, has made its greatest contribution to the farm population of the division lying immediately to its west. The Pacific migrants went in greatest numbers to the Mountain states lying just to the east. With two or three exceptions these trends hold also for the rural non-farm population.

The Rural-urban Migration.—The data presented thus far, while chiefly concerned with interdivisional and interstate migration, especially from east to west, have presented some indications of the other great population movement within the nation, that from farm to city. This has been shown by the high proportion of migrants in the urban as compared with the rural population, and by the larger proportion of persons born in rural states, such as Iowa, but living in others.

Unfortunately the census has never published information on the number of urban residents born in rural communities or on farms. The rural-urban migration is a fact too well known to need demonstration; but its amount has never been measured, though it has been estimated, nor have its composition and quality been investigated save in a few restricted cases. These however furnish some basis for generalizing as to certain trends in the rural-urban migration.

The most comprehensive estimates of the movement of population from country to city and from city to country have been those of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, which began in 1920. These estimates are reproduced in Table 3. They were made through the coöperation of the rural mail carriers.

While these figures are estimates only, there can be no question but that they represent the definite trend away from the farm, and to the city, a trend that had begun as early as the 1870's in New England and was a national phenomenon from at least 1910 on. It will be observed that beginning with 1926 fewer people left the farm each year, while the

counter movement from city to farm remained relatively high and fluctuated within a narrower range. Another estimate of population change is that in the main report on Recent Social Trends.[1] Here Mr. O. E. Baker calculates that the net migration from country to city from 1920 to 1930 was 5,898,000 persons. Of this 60 percent came from the South, one-third of it negro.[2]

The significance of these streams of migration to and from the farm is considerable. Studies by Dr. Galpin, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, show that the emigrants from the farm tend to include four groups: young adults ready for careers; older but still vigorous persons desiring greater economic gain; the upper middle-aged, often retired, who seek a higher standard of living; and finally those who can no longer

TABLE 3.—ESTIMATED POPULATION MOVEMENT TO AND FROM FARMS

During year	To cities from farms	To farms from cities	Net movement	
			From farms to cities	From cities to farms
1920	896,000	560,000	336,000	
1921	1,323,000	759,000	564,000	
1922	2,252,000	1,115,000	1,137,000	
1923	2,162,000	1,355,000	807,000	
1924	2,068,000	1,581,000	487,000	
1925	2,038,000	1,336,000	702,000	
1926	2,334,000	1,427,000	907,000	
1927	2,162,000	1,705,000	457,000	
1928	2,120,000	1,698,000	422,000	
1929	2,081,000	1,604,000	477,000	
1930	1,723,000	1,740,000	.....	17,000
1931	1,469,000	1,683,000	.....	214,000

Source: *The Agricultural Situation*, Washington D. C., November 1932, p. 4. Births and deaths not taken into account.

stand the rigors of farm life. The city therefore receives from the country a steady stream of the young and vigorous, and also many who take with them from the country the accumulated capital of their agricultural years.

Just as the Easterners who migrated to the West carried with them their cultural inheritance and discarded only a part of it, so these people

[1] *Cf.* Baker, O. E., "Utilization of Natural Wealth," *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933) Chapter II, Part I, pages 110–111.

[2] The migration is estimated by comparing the number of persons in each 5 year age group in the rural farm population in 1930 with the number in each age group 10 years younger in 1920 that would be expected to survive, using expectation of life figures based on comparison 1920 with 1930 of the native whites in such age groups in the United States as a whole and of Negroes for the Negro population in the Southern states. Migration of children born on farms during the decade is not included.

from the farm have not been without influence on the city. If there has been urbanization of the country, there has also been ruralization of the city. Illustrative of such tendencies is the city church which contains many hold-overs from rural church practice and administration.[1] Many rural attitudes have also been carried over into the conduct of urban business; and it has been claimed that the rural heritage is a fundamental determinant of the nation's psychology.[2]

The reasons why some people from the farm left for the city have already been hinted at. Dr. Galpin's studies show that the small profit and high taxes of agriculture motivated many, and that a considerable majority left because of the desire for social goods such as more adequate

TABLE 4.—MOVEMENT OF FARM POPULATION, APRIL 1, 1929 TO MARCH 31, 1930

Census division	Movement to farms from cities and villages		Movement to cities and villages from farms	
	Number farms reporting	Number of persons	Number farms reporting	Number of persons
United States	249,211	680,822	164,073	370,897
New England	7,668	20,791	5,116	10,946
Middle Atlantic	17,597	49,649	13,124	28,721
East North Central	46,077	121,927	34,645	72,375
West North Central	45,236	115,368	36,377	78,130
South Atlantic	25,565	79,458	19,179	42,617
East South Central	24,591	73,851	13,620	31,426
West South Central	47,185	119,386	22,072	58,655
Mountain	16,490	45,069	9,130	22,402
Pacific	18,802	55,323	10,810	25,625

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States:* 1930 State Bulletins, First Series.

schooling. Back of these human motives lie the great social forces that have been operating in ways to be sketched later, all essentially related to the shift of agriculture from hand and animal to machine power, which released the labor of millions to whom, up to 1929, the city beckoned.

The pull of the non-economic causes of rural-urban migration appears to be rather constant. The fluctuation in migration shown in Table 3 is therefore to a considerable degree explicable on the grounds of changing business conditions. According to the United States Department of Agriculture, the data for 1922 to 1928 show that "an improvement in farm income has been accompanied by a smaller movement of population from farms, and a decline in income has been accompanied by an increased shift to industrial centers. Similarly the movement from cities to farms

[1] *Cf.* Douglass, H. P., *1,000 City Churches* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1923), especially chap. iv.

[2] *Cf.* Williams, J. H., *Our Rural Heritage* (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1925).

has been greater in years of dull business conditions and smaller in years of plentiful employment."[1] (See Figures 3 and 4.)

This conclusion has received striking confirmation in the industrial depression that began in 1929. Young as the depression was in April 1930 when the census enumeration was made, it was found that in every

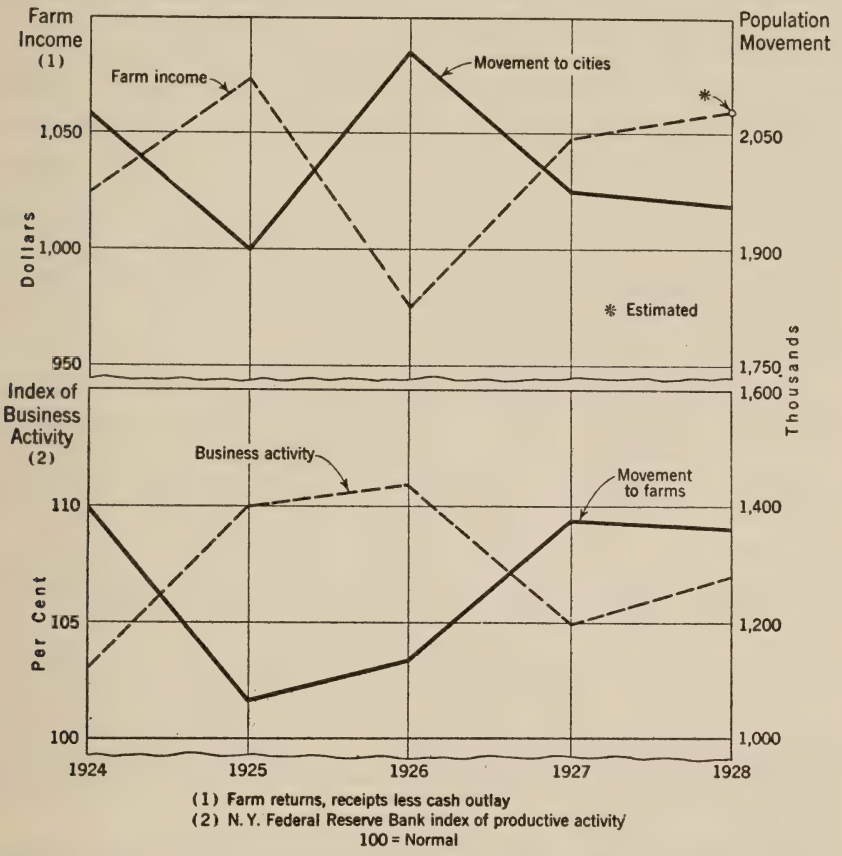

FIG. 3.—Farm income, business activity and population movement, 1924 to 1928.

state, between April 1, 1929, and March 31, 1930, considerably more people had left the city for the farm than had left the farm for the city. Table 4 gives the results regionally.[2]

Other sources confirm the fact that a movement back to the farm is on. Federal and state agricultural departments have reported an unprecedented number of requests from city people for information about,

[1] Bean, "Population Movements Reflect Farm and Business Conditions" *Yearbook of Agriculture* (U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1930), pp. 412–415.

[2] It is felt by some that the margin of error for reporting persons leaving farm for city is higher than for the other items, as the information as to the location of families that had moved had to be secured from others.

and advice as to how, to acquire farms in 1931, and still more in the early months of 1932. This movement has even included agricultural villages.

Field workers discovered a number of cases where young married people, often former residents, had moved to villages, at least until the depression should end. Many, however, declared they would not again return to the city. In March, 1932, one-third of the 140 villages visited by the field workers in 1924 and again in 1930, in response to a mail questionnaire, reported that an average of 10 families each, 40 persons, had moved in from the city in the preceding 12 months, equivalent to an increase of 2 percent in the population of these villages in a single

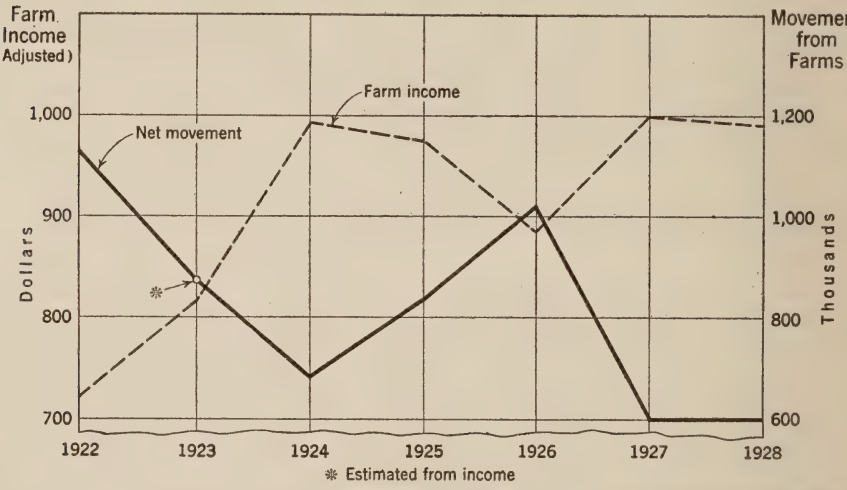

FIG. 4.—Net movement of farm population and farm income adjusted for changes in business activity, 1922 to 1928.

(It will be seen that during the past seven years the cityward movement exceeded the number of arrivals from cities by about 600,000 in 1927 and 1928, and by over 1,000,000 in 1922 and 1926. The fact that a large number of farm people have been moving to cities during the last several years is undoubtedly a result of the generally low financial returns from farming compared with industrial earnings, and the expectation of greater opportunities and better living standards. The yearly variations in this net flow reflect also the yearly variations in farm income.)

year from this cause alone. The other two thirds had received only scattering families. The return to agricultural villages was more marked in the Middle Atlantic and Far West regions than in the others. In them it affected nearly half the villages, in the others about a fourth.

Even before the depression, as noted in Table 3, the return from the city to the farm was considerable. Dr. Galpin, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in 1929 asked 10,000 of these back-to-the-landers why they returned. Sixteen percent said they could save more money on the farm; 14 percent felt that city work was too uncertain and too hard; 10 percent liked the independence of farm life; 20 percent disliked the city; and 27 percent replied that the city was not a fit place in which to rear children, and that they had returned to the farm for the sake of health

and better all-round living conditions. Nearly half, therefore, left because of dislike for the urban environment. Seventy-seven percent of these families had previously farmed. Husband or wife or both of 10 percent more of the families had been born on farms. The remaining 13 percent were families with only urban experience.

The City Attracts Only Certain Groups.—Unfortunately there are few studies of the selective quality of the rural-urban migration. The city attracts the younger people, and this influences the comparative age-distribution of city and country and other factors relating to the composition of the population that will be discussed later in the chapter. It must be remembered also that not all movement of population is from farm to city. There is considerable shift in residence among the rural people themselves from farm to farm, or from farm to village and vice versa.

Seven intensive studies by as many colleges of agriculture give some clues as to the trends of the movement of rural population, especially among younger people.[1] Briefly stated, these studies, covering some 5,000 farm families, show that the migration from the home farm begins at the age of eighteen, and has ended by about thirty; that daughters are more likely to leave home than sons, the children of tenant farmers than those of owners, the children of owners with low income than those of owners with a higher income; that first-born sons are more likely to remain on the home farm than others; that from 80 to 90 percent of those who left home stayed within 100 miles, a majority within 50 miles; and that the further the emigré went, the greater was the likelihood of his or her going to a city. There was a tendency for those who went to the city to enter the professional and the unskilled labor groups. In other words the city seems to attract especially the best and the least qualified of the farm youth.

It is evident then from this review that Americans have been a restless people. The nation was settled by immigrants from Europe, and the lure

[1] *Cf.* Anderson and Loomis, *Migration of Sons and Daughters of White-farmers in Wake County* (North Carolina State College, Raleigh, 1930).

Sinick and Yoder, *A Study of Farm Migration in Selected Communities in the State of Washington* (Washington State College of Agriculture, Pullman, 1929).

Lively and Beck, *Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio* (Ohio State College of Agriculture, Columbus, 1930); and *Movement of Open Country Population in Three Townships in North Eastern Ohio* (mimeographed 1928; the same).

Young, *The Movement of Farm Population* (College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1924).

Zimmerman, "Migration to Towns and Cities," various articles based on Minnesota studies in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, Ill., *Farm Economics*, Palo Alto, Calif., and *Social Forces*, Raleigh, N. C., 1926–1930.

See also Gee and Corson, *Rural Depopulation in Certain Tidewater and Piedmont Areas of Virginia* (Charlottesville; University of Virginia, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, 1929) and Perkins, "Selective Migration from Three Rural Vermont Towns and its Significance," *5th Annual Report of the Eugenics Survey of Vermont* (Burlington; University of Vermont, 1931).

of new scenes and new occupations remained for decades with the descendants of these immigrants. First they were intrigued by the West, but that movement has spent its force. Then followed the urge that sent millions to build up the industrial centers; but, as this is written, that movement has reversed itself, for how long no one knows.

Similarly, by legislative fiat, the immigration from other lands has been restricted. In 1931 more aliens left our shores than entered, a significant occurrence in a land that for over a century had beckoned the people of the world to her shores and posed as a refuge of the oppressed of all lands.

The American population is perforce tending to acquire therefore a certain stability as to its composition which, as will be seen, shows itself in several ways. But the effects of these population movements are still of prime importance. They have resulted in the changing numerical relationships of city and rural people, of farm and rural non-farm folk. They have modified agricultural types and practices and social institutions; they have changed the characteristics of the rural population and made region differ from region. But the tempo of these changes that form the basis for much of the rest of this study is itself changing, slackening. Whatever important index is used for measuring, the signs point to more stability than in the past due to filling up the land, unless some new revolutionary change now unpredictable should start differing cycles of social evolution.

CHANGING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RURAL POPULATION

The mobility of America's population has naturally been one of the important influences producing changes in the composition and structure of that population both urban and rural. For many decades the farm population was by far the largest element in the total of rural America. But with the increasing number of villages, whether incorporated or not, whether agricultural, industrial,[1] suburban or what, there has grown up, as noted, a rural but non-farm group that is tending to become as large as the farm population itself.

Nor have these changes been confined to total figures. Rather age- and sex-distribution and other characteristics of population groups have changed, both because of the movements of population and because of

[1] At the present time there are some 4,000 industrial villages—that is, places of less than 2,500 population dominated by a single industry—having a population of approximately 4,000,000 persons who are in the country but not of it. Such industrial villages are the mill towns of the South and mining and lumbering villages. These places, which are neither rural nor urban but are encased amid a population of farmers and those who serve farmers, present peculiar problems of social organization, especially to school and church administrators. *Cf.* Brunner, *Industrial Village Churches* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930). It is these industrial villages and the large number of agricultural villages that comprise the bulk of the rural non-farm population.

influences that have produced changes in all population groups. These changes too have affected the farm and village population in different degrees.

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine and appraise these changes in the national life, and particularly to contrast the population of farm, village, and city. The United States Census data, by the very alterations in the categories used in the analysis of the rural population since 1910, reveal something of the changes that have taken place in the thinking about the rural population. Thus it was only in 1920 that the farm population was given separate treatment for some items, and only in 1930 that some data are given separately for the rural non-farm group. For the most part, therefore, a study of the trends of rural population must be content to use figures for the total rural, including as it does the rural farm population[1] and all persons living outside cities or other incorporated places having 2,500 or more inhabitants who do not live on farms.[2] The analysis will concern itself first with the changing position of the rural population in the nation, and will then describe certain important trends in the characteristics of the farm and rural non-farm population. Finally the population of agricultural villages will be analyzed and compared with that of farm and city.[3]

Proportion of Rural Population in Nation Declining.—The rural population, despite a steady numerical increase, has been a constantly decreasing proportion of the nation's total. Possessing nearly two-thirds of the total in 1890 and exactly three-fifths at the opening of the present century, it dropped to less than half, 48.6 percent, in 1920 and to 43.8 in 1930. Yet numerically the rural population rose from 40.6 millions in 1890 to 49.8 in 1910, and to 53.8 millions in 1930.

This trend has been nation-wide; but the rate of the decline in the proportion of rural people to the total number has been by no means uniform among the various regions as Table 5 shows.

[1] Farm population in cities, amounting to 255,629 persons in 1920 and 287,837 in 1930, is analyzed by the census with the urban population.

[2] Sociologically speaking, many places of over 2,500 are still predominately rural in the sense that their economic life is largely dependent upon agriculture, both industrially and from the point of view of trade, and because their social institutions not only serve the farm population but depend to a considerable degree upon its support. It is significant in this connection that the United States Census of Distribution counts as rural all places of less than 10,000 inhabitants.

[3] The sharp differences existing between the farm population and the population of agricultural villages were first demonstrated by the Institute of Social and Religious Research through a special analysis of the census returns for 177 carefully selected agricultural villages. *Cf.* Fry, *American Villagers* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1926) especially chapter iv.

TABLE 5.—RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION, BY DIVISIONS
(Percentage distribution)

Census division	Rural				Urban			
	1900	1910	1920	1930	1900	1910	1920	1930
United States	60.0	54.2	48.6	43.8	40.0	45.8	51.4	56.2
New England	27.5	23.7	20.8	22.7	72.5	76.3	79.2	77.3
Middle Atlantic	34.8	29.0	25.1	22.3	65.2	71.0	74.9	77.7
East North Central	54.8	47.3	39.2	33.6	45.2	52.7	60.8	66.4
West North Central	71.5	66.7	62.3	58.2	28.5	33.3	37.7	41.8
South Atlantic	78.6	74.6	69.0	63.9	21.4	25.4	31.0	36.1
East South Central	85.0	81.3	77.6	71.9	15.0	18.7	22.4	28.1
West South Central	83.8	77.7	71.0	63.6	16.2	22.3	29.0	36.4
Mountain	67.7	64.0	63.6	60.6	32.3	36.0	36.4	39.4
Pacific	53.6	43.2	37.6	32.5	46.4	56.8	62.4	67.5

Source: Population Bulletin, Second Series, *Fifteenth Census of the United States:* 1930, p. 29 and Volume I, p. 47 of *Fourteenth Census of the United States,* 1920.

While 33 of the 48 states were more than half rural in 1920, only 27 were in 1930, although even in the latter year 35 states had a larger proportion of rural people than did the nation as a whole. It is quite evident therefore that the urban population is still concentrated in a minority of the states; and that in a majority of them, educators and all social servants deal with a group that is predominately rural.

Furthermore there is no likelihood that this situation will be different in 1940, even assuming that nationally the rural population will by that year be only about 38 percent of the total. Should the present movement of population from city to country continue, the rural share of the total population may show a much smaller proportionate loss than for the last five decades and conceivably may register a slight gain.

Rural Farm and Non-farm Population Show Different Trends.—This decline in the proportion of rural people, in the decade 1920–1930 at least, has been owing entirely to the loss in the rural farm population. The rural non-farm group not only registered a numerical gain two points in excess of the national rate of growth, 16.1 percent, but formed a slightly larger proportion of the national population in 1930 than in 1920, 19.2 percent as against 18.9. This represents a numerical increase of from 20 to 23.6 million people. The rural farm population, on the other hand, declined from 31.3 to 30 million persons, and from 29.7 to 24.6 percent of the total population. These facts are detailed in Table 6.

The rural farm population declined in every region except the Pacific between 1920 and 1930. The rural non-farm population increased in every region in the same decade; but in both years the rural farm exceeded the rural non-farm population in all regions except the New England, Middle Atlantic and Pacific. By 1930, in the Mountain states, the two groups were almost equal. It is clear, therefore, that in every region the

rural non-farm population was a more important part of the total rural population in 1930 than in 1920, or in previous decades.

The most important gains were registered in the South Atlantic division where the shift is associated in part with the movement of farm population into rural industrial communities, largely textile villages, and in the East North Central, Middle Atlantic and Pacific divisions. It seems quite apparent that this trend, registered by the census for the first time in the 1920–30 decade, has been going on for some time, and that the rural population is therefore made up of two large groups that possibly by 1940, or certainly by 1950, will be approximately equal. By that time the farm group that for a century comprised more than half of the population of the nation will not even be the major element in the rural population.

TABLE 6.—RURAL FARM AND RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION, BY DIVISION

Census division	Number (in thousands)				Percent				Percent rural non-farm in total rural	
	Rural farm		Rural non-farm		Rural farm		Rural non-farm			
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
United States	31,359	30,158	20,047	23,663	29.7	24.6	19.0	19.3	39.0	44.0
New England	535	499	1,000	1,355	7.2	6.1	13.5	16.6	65.1	73.1
Middle Atlantic	1,861	1,674	3,727	4,192	8.4	6.4	16.7	16.0	66.7	71.5
East North Central	4,887	4,453	3,539	4,049	22.8	17.6	16.5	16.0	42.0	47.6
West North Central	5,153	5,036	2,664	2,705	41.1	37.9	21.2	20.3	34.1	34.9
South Atlantic	6,398	5,879	3,254	4,217	45.7	37.2	23.3	26.7	33.7	41.8
East South Central	5,175	5,084	1,724	2,024	53.2	51.4	19.4	20.5	25.0	28.5
West South Central	5,211	5,308	2,061	2,441	50.9	43.6	20.1	20.0	28.3	31.5
Mountain	1,153	1,124	968	1,120	34.6	30.4	29.0	30.3	45.6	49.9
Pacific	986	1,101	1,110	1,559	17.7	13.4	19.9	19.0	53.0	58.6

Source: Population Bulletin, Second Series, *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, 1930, pp. 30 & 31.

The rapid growth in the importance of the rural non-farm group in relation to the farm population raises several questions. Should rural schools, for instance, attempt to expand their vocational education for boys beyond the agriculture now being offered? If so, how can such an expansion of the curriculum, already federally assisted, be financed? Has the agricultural extension service any responsibility for all rural people or simply for farmers? In some states especially the home demonstration agents are already serving groups of rural non-farm women, and village boys and girls are already enrolled in the membership of 4-H clubs.[1]

[1] Clubs of rural youth operating under the leadership of salaried extension-service workers on many different projects. The four H's stand for head, heart, hands and health. *Cf.* chapter ix.

There is also the question as to whether the farm and the rural non-farm elements of the rural population will represent opposing interests and points of view. The question lends significance to the discovery, made in this investigation and discussed in later chapters, that there is increasing rapport between the farmer and the villager and that rural social life is increasingly being organized around the agricultural village. A further analysis of the rural population is therefore important in order that the differences between the agricultural villagers and the rest of the rural non-farm population, and the meaning of these differences, may be understood.

This further analysis will first answer the questions as to where the rural non-farm population lives, and will then present data as to the composition of the rural farm and the rural non-farm population, with special reference to farmers' service station towns or agricultural villages. Attention will also be given to farm, village and urban population differences that emphasize certain important trends.

The great bulk of the rural non-farm population is to be found in villages, that is, places of from 250 to 2,500 population. There are approximately 19,000 such places. Of these, 10,661 were incorporated in 1930, as against 10,239 in 1920; and in them lived 8,734,389 persons as against 8,509,659 in 1920. Over four million more live in the unincorporated places of less than 2,500; so that, all told, 12 millions of the rural non-farm population, or between half and three-fifths, are village dwellers. About 4.5 millions more live in hamlets, places of less than 250 population. Most such places are unincorporated; but the number of those incorporated increased from 2,619 in 1920 to 2,772 in 1930, at which latter date they had a total population of 449,064, slightly less than in 1920.[1]

This leaves approximately 6 millions of people unaccounted for. These probably live in the relatively few unincorporated suburbs of cities or in the open country, and include the families of clergymen, tea-room and road-house proprietors, storekeepers, lumberjacks and teachers, as well as many persons who go as wage-earners to towns or cities. Many of these live in crossroads centers that have fewer than twenty-five inhabitants each and are too small to be listed as separate places in the atlas. The number of such centers is very large. Many thousands are also found immediately adjacent to incorporated agricultural villages. For all practical purposes they are villagers, yet since they are outside

[1] In 1921 the Institute of Social and Religious Research estimated the number of unincorporated hamlets at 31,803 with a population of 3,703,172. *Cf.* Morse and Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1923). Exact census population is available only for incorporated municipalities. The population of the unincorporated places is estimated on the basis of a count of all unincorporated places of less than 2,500 made from the Rand McNally Atlas in 1922 (*cf.* Fry, *American Villagers*, New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1926) and for selected states in 1931.

municipal boundaries they are classed as open-country, rural non-farm, population.

It is evident that the rural non-farm population is made up of diverse groups with sharply different economic backgrounds and bound together by no such major occupational interest as is the rural farm group. In this connection it is significant that although the rural non-farm population was, as has been shown, a slightly larger element in the nation's total in 1930 than in 1920, the incorporated places of less than 2,500 inhabitants were proportionately less important in 1930 than in 1920. Their share of the total population dropped from 8.5 to 7.5 percent in the decade. This probably means that the greater amount of growth in the rural non-farm population is in the unincorporated villages and in the areas around cities, towns and villages. The changed proportions are due in part, of course, to the passing of nearly 400 villages from the rural to the urban classification by reason of their growing beyond the 2,500 mark that is taken by the census as the dividing line between rural and urban.

Rural Farm and Non-farm Contrasts.—The differences between the rural farm and the rural non-farm populations are quite marked in certain particulars. The former has proportionately more children, fewer older people and more males. It has more than twice as many Negroes, but fewer foreign-born. Table 7 details some of these facts, and also gives an indication, discussed later, of the declining birth-rate.

TABLE 7.—AGE DISTRIBUTION FOR RURAL FARM AND RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION

Age group	Rural farm				Rural non-farm			
	Number (in thousands)		Percent		Number (in thousands)		Percent	
	1920	1930	1920	1930*	1920	1930	1920	1930*
Under 5 years	3,983	3,341	12.7	11.1	2,325	2,477	11.6	10.5
Under 1	*784*	*638*	*2.5*	*2.1*	*461*	*479*	*2.3*	*2.0*
5–9	4,108	3,780	13.1	12.5	2,245	2,617	11.2	11.1
10–14	3,983	3,741	12.7	12.4	2,005	2,314	10.0	9.8
15–19	3,261	3,421	10.4	11.3	1,724	2,116	8.6	8.9
20–24	2,477	2,434	7.9	8.1	1,684	2,016	8.4	8.5
25–29	2,132	1,819	6.8	6.0	1,644	1,843	8.2	7.8
30–34	1,882	1,672	6.0	5.5	1,463	1,675	7.3	7.1
35–44	3,512	3,432	11.2	11.4	2,566	3,060	12.8	12.9
45–54	2,791	2,959	8.9	9.8	1,884	2,345	9.4	9.9
55–64	1,819	1,997	5.8	6.6	1,283	1,623	6.4	6.9
65–74	972	1,105	3.1	3.7	822	1,056	4.1	4.5
75 and over	408	447	1.3	1.5	401	502	2.0	2.1

Source: Population Bulletin, Second Series, *Fifteenth Census of the United States;* 1930, Table 20.
* One tenth of one percentage, unknown.

This is seen in the smaller proportion of the farm population under one year, and the smaller proportion under five years of age in 1930 as compared with 1920. Males predominate in the rural population; but there are 111 to every 100 females in the farm group, but only 105 to 100 females in the rural non-farm group.

Rural Foreign-born and Negroes Declining.—A marked change in the rural population during the decade 1920–30 was the loss in the foreign-born and in the Negro groups, a loss that accounts for the whole of the decline in the farm population through the decade. As between the rural farm and the rural non-farm populations, the greater loss occurred in the former for both foreign-born and Negroes; but whereas the foreign-born showed considerable losses in both the rural farm and the non-farm populations (a total decline from 3.35 to 2.64 millions), the rural Negro population declined only in the farm category (from 5.11 to 4.68 millions) and actually increased in the rural non-farm from 1.8 to over 2 millions. The net result of these changes is that, in spite of the decline in the total farm population, there were 209,000 more native white persons born of native parents on the farms in 1930 than there were in 1920. Evidently the farm population is becoming increasingly homogeneous.

CHANGES IN CHARACTERISTICS OF AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE POPULATION

Every comparison that has been made here between the rural farm and the rural non-farm groups has shown marked differences in the structure of their population. But, as was pointed out, the rural non-farm group itself is not by any means homogeneous. Some three-fifths of it live in villages, but villages are of many kinds. More than one-fifth are industrial.[1] Probably not more than half, or at the most three-fifths, are agricultural, that is places primarily service-station centers for the surrounding farm population. Smaller numbers are suburban or resorts. It is of course only the agricultural villages that are important to the farm population. Farmers seem distinctly to shun industrial villages.[2] From the point of view of a study of rural social change, therefore, the composition of the population of agricultural villages and the changes that have taken place within it are of chief importance. The population of these villages differs in many important respects from that of the total rural non-farm group, as a special analysis of a carefully selected national sample of 177 agricultural villages shows. It differs markedly, especially from industrial villages.[3] The United States Census, however, does not

[1] *Cf.* Brunner, *Industrial Village Churches* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930) p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 21–25.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–21 and 175 and 176. In brief, the industrial village was shown by this census data to have more persons of foreign birth or parentage but fewer Negroes than has the agricultural village. It has more males than females, whereas the reverse condition is

and cannot classify the rural non-farm population by types according either to residence or function. The analysis must be made therefore on the basis of a special tabulation of the sample just mentioned. It will proceed first to indicate the changes in the population structure of agricultural villages and then to compare farm, village and city populations,[1] and the changing relationships they bear to one another.

The comparison of the agricultural village population for 1930 and for 1920 shows an aging population, a declining birth-rate, a slight increase in the preponderance of females over males, an increase in the proportion of married persons, a decline in the number of foreign-born, and a wider diffusion of Negroes.

Children Fewer. Birth Rate Declines.—To some extent these changes are due to changes in the age-distribution of villagers. Table 10 and Fig. 6 show that villagers as a group were older in 1930 than in 1920. The proportion of children under ten years of age declined in every region. Furthermore this trend seems likely to continue, for in

TABLE 8.—RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 TO WOMEN 20 TO 45 YEARS OF AGE,—177 AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

Region*	Ratio		Points of difference
	1920	1930	
All regions	99.6	95.7	−3.9
Middle Atlantic	84.5	88.4	+3.9
South	107.0	99.7	−7.3
Middle West	97.3	94.3	−3.0
Far West	105.9	98.4	−7.5

Source: Special tabulation unpublished census data for 177 agricultural villages.

* Throughout much of the remainder of this analysis an original classification will be used instead of the census divisions in order to simplify the comparisons. This procedure is justified by the fact that the number of villages is small and by the further fact that certain of the divisions combine the village populations that are quite similar. The combinations have been made on the following basis: South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central census divisions are called the South; the East and West North Central Divisions the Middle West; and the Mountain and Pacific divisions the Far West. The name of the Middle Atlantic area is unchanged because this region, as defined in studies by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, is identical with the census division of the same name.

true for agricultural villages. In its proportion of children it greatly exceeds both the city and the agricultural village. By the same token, the proportion of young married people is higher and that of old people lower than in the agricultural villages. There is less variation in the marital condition of the population than in any other particular save that the industrial village has markedly fewer widows than the agricultural.

[1] The attention of the reader is called to the fact that the 1930 census for the first time presents data on age, sex and nativity for minor civil divisions. On these points the census gives therefore complete information. But since this data has, as stated, appeared in no previous census the only possible clues as to changes in the structure of village populations are the following data which compare 1920 and 1930 census results for these 177 agricultural villages. This is made possible by the tabulation of these data for 1920 by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. *Cf.* Fry, C. L., *Census Analysis of American Villages* and *American Villagers* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1925 and 1926).

every region when those under ten are divided into two groups it is found that the younger is numerically the smaller. For the total group of villages 9.8 percent of the population is between the ages of five and nine, inclusive, while only 8.4 percent are under five years of age. Both because of the increasing age of villagers and because of the decreasing birth-rate, the number and proportion of children in villages is on a decline as yet unchecked. This fact has important implications for the school and church and indicates that only the influx of pupils from the open country can continue, as it has already done in the last six years, to sustain village school enrollment.

It is perhaps pertinent to suggest that especially in areas where school consolidation has already progressed quite far, future building needs should take into account not merely probable future trends in total population but also trends in the birth-rate which will affect the number of children of school age.

The declining birth-rate is proven by the changes in the ratio of children under ten years of age to females twenty to forty-five years of age in the sample villages. The ratio declined from 99.6 in 1920 to 95.7 in 1930. The drop has been quite sharp in all regions, except the Middle Atlantic where the increased number of children is doubtless associated with the gain in the proportion of both men and women twenty to forty-five years of age in the total population.

The declining birth-rate is also shown by the smaller number of persons per household. For the total rural population, this figure dropped from 4.5 to 4.1 between 1920 and 1930. For the farm population, the corresponding figures were 4.9 and 4.6. On the other hand in the 177 agricultural villages the size of household was stationary at 3.73. Perhaps in the villages a minimum has been reached although there are slight regional and state differences. That this decline is not recent is at least suggested by a special tabulation of a single large village from 1860 to 1930. In the first year the average number of people per household was 5.5. The decline has been steady since that time, as the following figures show:

1880	4.1
1900	4.0
1910	3.7
1930	3.4

Large families have not however disappeared from rural America. A carefully conducted study of nearly 20,000 families by *The Woman's World* of Chicago in 1929 showed that 2.4 percent of almost 5,000 farm families had ten or more members. Forty percent of the farm families had five or more members as against about 30 percent for all the 10,000 families of all types of places up to 25,000 population. As would be expected from the foregoing, a larger proportion of the farm families

had three or more children under ten years of age, 17 percent, as againts 12.4 percent in the villages and towns. Of the entire group of nearly 20,000 families, 35.9 percent were without children of this age. Only the families of medium and large villages and of farmers slightly exceeded this average.

More Older People.—Quite as interesting as the decline in the proportion of children in the agricultural villages is the increase in the number and proportion of elderly people. In every region the proportion of women between sixty and seventy years of age, and of men and women seventy years and over, not only increased but grew more rapidly than the total population. In all regions but the South, the proportion of men sixty to seventy years of age also gained. Even in the southern region, the number of older people increased. Table 9 compares for the major regions the rate of population gain with the gain in the number of persons over sixty years of age.

TABLE 9.—RATE OF INCREASE FOR TOTAL POPULATION AND FOR POPULATION 60 YEARS AND OVER, BY SEX,—177 VILLAGES

(Percent increase)

Region	Total population	60–69 years	70 years and over	60 years and over
	Males			
Middle Atlantic	9.0	8.9	21.3	13.9
South*	10.5	8.4	46.5	20.8
Middle West	2.5	−6.0	16.0	3.5
Far West	11.4	26.4	35.7	29.9
	Females			
Middle Atlantic	5.8	9.7	14.1	11.7
South*	11.6	26.6	27.4	26.9
Middle West	2.2	17.2	28.7	20.3
Far West	16.5	42.2	35.1	39.3

* Includes both whites and Negroes.

Two significant facts stand out from this table. In the first place, in every case except among the women of the Far West the increase in the number of persons seventy years and over was greater than the increase in the number of those between sixty and seventy years. This is probably owing, among other things, to the influx into the villages of retired farmers. In the second place the largest increases are found in the South, and especially in Far West. This would seem to indicate that agricultural villages in these areas are tending to conform more and more to the age-pattern of villages in other regions, which has led to the characterization of the agricultural village as the old people's home of rural America.

TABLE 10.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, BY SEX AND BY DIVISION,—177 VILLAGES

Age group	Middle Atlantic		East North Central		West North Central		South Atlantic	
	1920 %	1930 %	1920 %	1930 %	1920 %	1930 %	1920 %	1930 %
	Males							
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 10	16.3	15.1	18.1	16.7	18.2	17.5	22.9	21.1
10 to 20	15.4	15.3	16.9	16.9	17.9	18.3	19.5	21.5
20 to 30	13.7	13.1	13.7	13.4	14.6	13.9	17.1	16.0
30 to 40	13.2	13.3	112.8	12.8	13.1	12.7	14.0	12.9
40 to 50	13.2	13.1	12.1	12.0	11.6	11.7	11.1	11.4
50 to 60	12.0	12.3	11.2	10.8	10.3	10.5	7.2	8.9
60 to 70	9.6	10.1	8.6	9.7	8.1	8.6	5.2	5.2
70 and over	6.5	7.7	6.4	7.6	5.9	6.8	2.6	3.0
Unknown	0.1	*	0.2	0.1	0.3	*	0.4	*
	Females							
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 10	14.2	14.6	16.2	15.2	17.5	16.4	20.5	19.4
10 to 20	15.2	14.8	17.3	16.4	18.8	18.2	20.7	21.0
20 to 30	13.8	14.2	15.3	14.0	16.0	15.4	19.0	18.2
30 to 40	13.4	12.5	13.3	13.3	13.6	12.6	13.9	13.6
40 to 50	13.3	12.9	11.9	12.5	11.5	12.2	10.8	11.3
50 to 60	12.2	12.2	11.1	10.9	9.4	10.2	6.9	8.0
60 to 70	10.0	10.3	8.5	10.4	7.5	8.1	4.7	5.2
70 and over	7.8	8.4	6.2	7.2	5.4	6.9	3.2	3.2
Unknown	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	*	0.3	0.1

Age group	East South Central		West South Central		Mountain		Pacific	
	1920 %	1930 %	1920 %	1930 %	1920 %	1930 %	1920 %	1930 %
	Males							
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 10	20.7	19.1	22.8	21.2	21.7	19.9	18.3	16.6
10 to 20	20.1	19.1	20.0	21.1	16.6	19.4	16.6	17.3
20 to 30	16.5	17.6	16.6	15.7	16.8	14.3	15.0	15.2
30 to 40	13.2	13.8	14.8	13.1	15.9	13.9	14.6	13.8
40 to 50	12.5	11.7	10.9	11.7	12.0	12.8	13.1	13.2
50 to 60	8.4	9.3	6.8	8.3	8.7	9.5	10.2	10.7
60 to 70	5.7	5.6	5.2	5.0	5.3	6.4	7.3	7.8
70 and over	2.8	3.8	2.3	3.8	2.8	3.8	4.7	5.3
Unknown	0.1	*	0.6	0.1	0.2	*	0.2	0.1
	Females							
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 10	19.4	18.0	21.6	20.3	22.5	20.8	18.9	16.6
10 to 20	21.3	19.2	21.4	20.8	19.1	20.3	18.8	18.7
20 to 30	18.3	19.0	19.2	17.6	18.7	16.3	15.8	15.3
30 to 40	14.1	14.2	14.5	14.1	15.6	13.6	14.8	14.2
40 to 50	11.9	11.7	9.9	11.2	10.7	12.2	11.8	12.8
50 to 60	7.1	9.3	6.2	7.5	7.1	8.4	9.4	10.1
60 to 70	4.5	4.9	4.3	5.1	4.0	5.2	6.1	7.3
70 and over	3.3	3.7	2.4	3.3	2.2	3.2	4.4	4.9
Unknown	0.1	*	0.5	0.1	0.1	*	*	0.1

* Less than one-tenth of 1 percent.

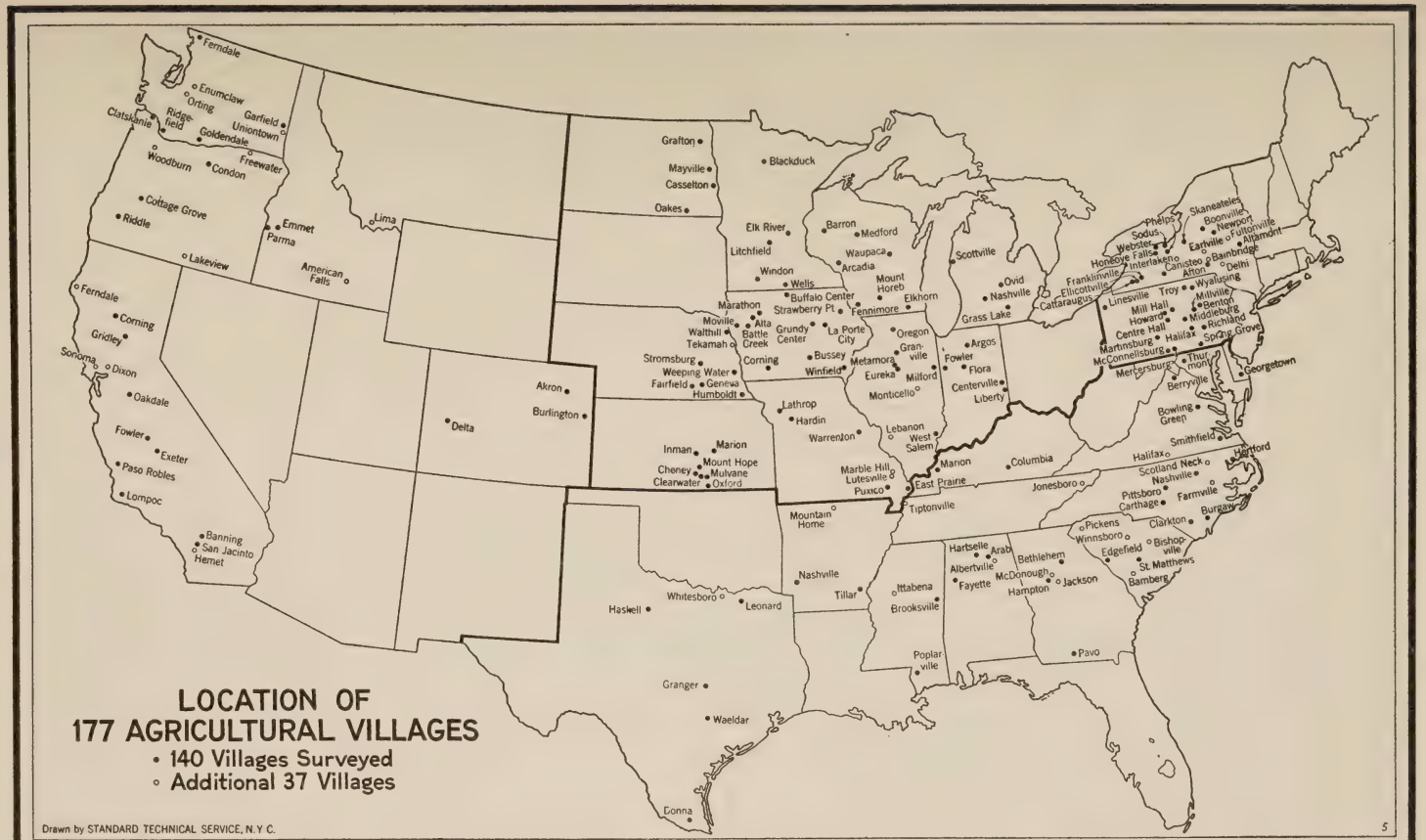
LOCATION OF
177 AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES
• 140 Villages Surveyed
◦ Additional 37 Villages
Drawn by STANDARD TECHNICAL SERVICE, N.Y.C.
5
Ferndale
Enumclaw
Orting
Ridgefield
Garfield
Uniontown
Clatskanie
Goldendale
Woodburn
Condon
Freewater
Cottage Grove
Riddle
Emmet
Parma
Lima
Lakeview
American Falls
Ferndale
Corning
Gridley
Sonoma
Dixon
Oakdale
Fowler
Exeter
Paso Robles
Lompoc
Banning
San Jacinto
Hemet
Akron
Burlington
Delta
Grafton
Mayville
Casselton
Oakes
Blackduck
Elk River
Barron
Medford
Litchfield
Waupaca
Arcadia
Windon
Wells
Buffalo Center
Mount Horeb
Elkhorn
Fennimore
Marathon
Strawberry Pt.
Moville
Alta
Battle Creek
Grundy Center
La Porte City
Oregon
Granville
Walthill
Tekamah
Stromsburg
Weeping Water
Fairfield
Geneva
Humboldt
Corning
Bussey
Winfield
Metamora
Eureka
Milford
Monticello
Argos
Fowler
Flora
Centerville
Liberty
Lathrop
Hardin
Warrenton
Lebanon
West Salem
Inman
Marion
Mount Hope
Mulvane
Cheney
Clearwater
Oxford
Marble Hill
Lutesville
Puxico
East Prairie
Marion
Columbia
Jonesboro
Tiptonville
Mountain Home
Nashville
Tillar
Whitesboro
Leonard
Haskell
Granger
Waeldar
Donna
Ittabena
Brooksville
Poplarville
Pavo
Hartselle
Arab
Albertville
Fayette
Bethlehem
McDonough
Hampton
Jackson
Pickens
Winnsboro
Edgefield
Bishopville
St. Matthews
Bamberg
Clarkton
Pittsboro
Carthage
Farmville
Burgaw
Halifax
Scotland Neck
Nashville
Smithfield
Hertford
Bowling Green
Mammsburg
McConnellsburg
Mercersburg
Thurmont
Berryville
Georgetown
Sprucegrove
Richland
Middleburg
Millville
Wyalusing
Troy
Howard
Mill Hall
Centre Hall
Halifax
Linesville
Cattaraugus
Ellicottville
Franklinville
Honeoye Falls
Interlaken
Canisteo
Afton
Bainbridge
Delhi
Sodus
Phelps
Webster
Skaneateles
Boonville
Newport
Fultonville
Altamont
Earlville
Scottville
Ovid
Nashville
Grass Lake

FIG. 5.

But while this is true, it should be noted that there is still wide divergence among the regions in the proportion of their population that has reached or passed the sixty year mark. In the Middle Atlantic and Middle West states this proportion is approximately one-sixth, in the South it is less than one-tenth, and in the Far West about one-eighth.

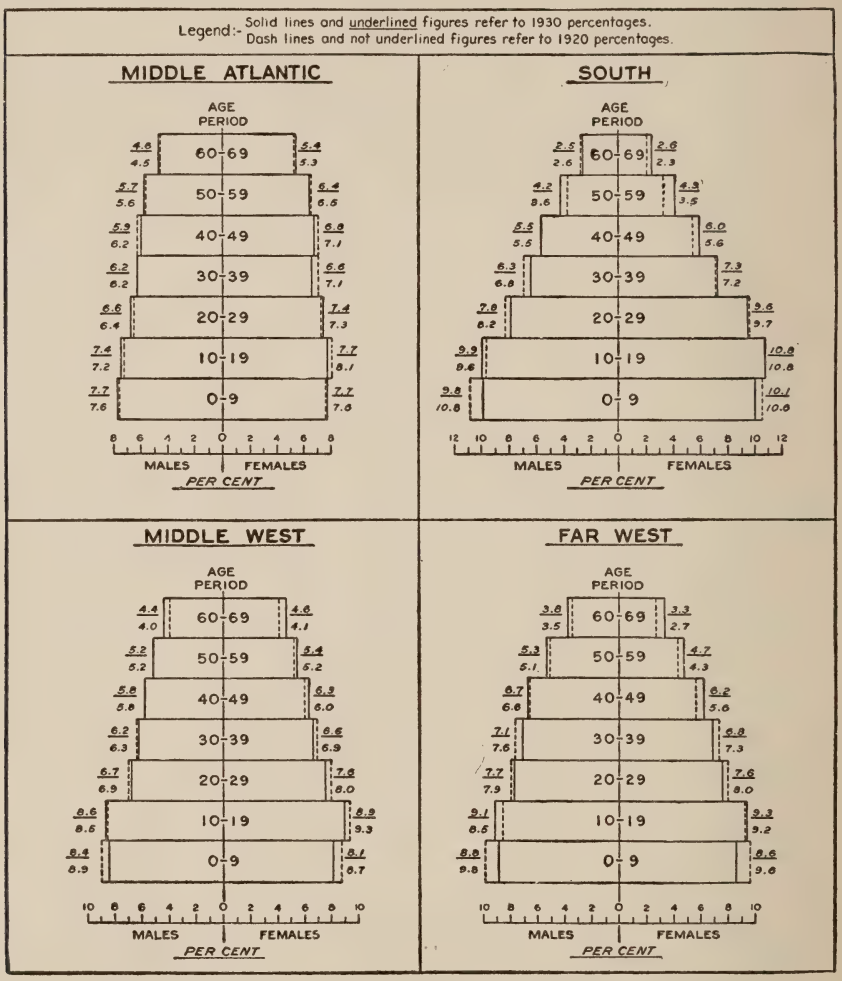

FIG. 6.—Age distribution of villagers by regions, 1920 and 1930.

Further analysis of the age-, and sex-distribution reveals other interesting trends. The proportion of males between ten and twenty years of age has increased in the last decade, that of females has decreased. Both sexes have lost strength in the important age-period from twenty to forty in proportion to the total population, although numerically each has registered a gain of about 5 percent in this age-group. With the decades between forty and sixty years, the trend is mainly upward, especially in the latter. Details of these comparisons are given in Table 10. This table

together with Table 11 also show the wide divergences between agricultural village, farm and total rural non-farm populations with respect to age-distribution. (See also Figure 6.)

These trends in the age-, and sex-structure of the population of agricultural villages, important as they are in themselves, have a possible further interest because of the suggestion made earlier in the chapter that this type of community may be approaching, more rapidly than any other, the condition of relative stabilization of population that many sociologists foresee for the entire United States in another generation. In this connection the comparison of village, urban, and farm population later in this chapter is also significant, showing as it does that the village is even more like the city in its population structure than was the case ten years ago.

Certain it is that of the 140 villages studied by field workers, the one-tenth that had the highest proportions of old people were, with two or three exceptions, the least progressive in almost every department of their collective life. Age must conserve resources. It looks for security, for peace and calm, not as does youth for opportunity, adventure and progress. It remembers the past; youth envisages the future. The aging of our village population then has important implications for the school, which deals with youth but draws its support from adults; and for the church, which must serve both young and old. Perhaps the church has a more serious problem than any other agency. The "younger set" can form its own social organization; but to support a church requires the resources of all age-groups.

The reader has perhaps questioned before this whether the size of a village influences in any way the various indices of change in the structure of population that have thus far been discussed. In the main, small, medium and large villages[1] show few significant differences, the exceptions being chiefly in the proportion of the native-born white element, which is higher in small than in medium and large villages, and in the proportion of persons seven to twenty years of age in school, doubtless because of the lack of opportunities for gainful employment in the smaller places. This bears out the conclusion of the study of the 1920 census returns. In the main, therefore, the decade has produced no significant change with respect to the influence of size on the structure of the population in agricultural villages.[2]

Changes in Sex Ratios.—Only less important than the age-distribution of a population is the ratio of males to females. For the agricultural villages this ratio changed sharply in every census division. In three the proportion of males to females increased; in five it declined. The net result

[1] Small—under 1.000 population; medium—1,000 to 1,750; and large—1,750 and over.

[2] *Cf.* Fry, C. L. *American Villagers* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1926) pp. 68–72, especially Table XXIV. For comparable 1930 data see Appendix B.

is a greater variation among the regions in 1930 than in 1920. Table 11 presents these data.

TABLE 11.—RATIO OF MALES TO 100 FEMALES, BY DIVISION,—177 VILLAGES

Census division	Ratio		Points of change
	1920	1930	
All divisions	95.5	95.1	−0.4
Middle Atlantic	88.0	90.8	+2.8
East North Central	92.4	94.7	+2.3
West North Central	97.1	95.7	−1.4
South Atlantic	91.6	87.0	−4.6
East South Central	95.1	92.5	−2.6
West South Central	100.1	96.7	−3.4
Mountain	107.0	100.4	−6.6
Pacific	104.7	105.9	+1.2

The sharpest declines were in the three southern regions, owing in part to the migration of Negroes, which in these communities approached closer to an even division between the sexes than did the white population. The decline in the proportion of foreign-born also affected the sex-distribution, as this group has more males than females. For all the villages as a group the ratio of males to females was 95.1 as against 95.5 in 1920, which compares with a ratio of 105 for the rural non-farm population for the United States as a whole, a figure however a point and a half lower than in 1920.

This great difference between the agricultural village and the rural non-farm populations in the ratio of males to females is only one of the many indications of the sharp differences between these two groups in the make-up of their population. It is a difference that holds in every census division. The ratio of males to females for the rural non-farm population greatly exceeded that of the agricultural villages. It should be noted, however, that the decline in the number of males as compared with that of females between 1920 and 1930 was less in the agricultural villages than it was in the rural non-farm population.

More Persons Married.—The ratio between the sexes naturally suggests the marital condition of villagers. Here again interesting changes have taken place in the last decade. In every region the proportion of married men has increased and the proportion of single men has decreased. There is little change in the proportion of widowed males; but the proportion of divorced, while still very small, has gained in every region. Among the females also, the proportion of single persons has dropped; and in five of the regions the proportion of married has increased. In two divisions, however, there has been a slight change in the opposite direction. One division showed no change between 1920 and 1930. Widowed females

have also increased their share of the population in every region except the Middle Atlantic and Pacific. As with the males the proportion of divorced increased. These increases occurred in every region, even the South. The far-western divisions registered smaller increases in this particular than the others, and in 1930 no longer led in the proportion of divorced women as Table 12 shows.

TABLE 12.—MARITAL STATUS OF MALES AND FEMALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY DIVISION,—177 VILLAGES

(Percent)*

Census division	Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
	Males							
Middle Atlantic	26.8	26.2	66.1	66.5	6.7	6.4	0.3	0.6
East North Central	29.7	28.5	63.6	63.9	5.9	6.6	0.7	0.9
West North Central	33.3	31.8	60.4	61.3	5.5	5.8	0.6	1.1
South Atlantic	33.5	32.0	60.8	62.9	5.2	4.7	0.1	0.4
East South Central	31.9	29.9	62.7	64.0	4.8	4.9	0.5	1.2
West South Central	31.6	30.5	61.5	63.3	5.2	5.0	0.3	1.2
Mountain	32.5	29.4	62.0	63.8	4.2	5.0	1.1	1.7
Pacific	33.1	32.2	59.7	60.4	5.5	5.3	1.5	2.0
	Females							
Middle Atlantic	26.7	24.6	56.3	59.3	16.4	15.0	0.5	0.7
East North Central	27.4	25.0	57.2	59.1	14.3	14.7	1.0	1.2
West North Central	28.7	27.2	57.6	57.6	12.8	13.8	0.8	1.3
South Atlantic	30.0	28.8	54.4	54.8	14.9	15.6	0.3	0.7
East South Central	26.7	25.4	58.5	57.7	13.6	15.2	0.9	1.6
West South Central	26.5	23.6	60.0	60.9	12.9	13.4	0.6	2.1
Mountain	22.7	21.5	66.6	66.0	9.2	10.6	1.4	1.9
Pacific	22.6	21.1	62.6	64.1	13.3	13.0	1.5	1.8

* Figures do not total quite 100 percent as unknown has been omitted.

Population More Homogeneous.—In virtually every census region the population of the 177 agricultural villages proved to be more homogeneous in 1930 than in 1920. The proportion of native whites of native parentage increased, that of foreign-born and that of Negroes declined. In no region did racial groups effect the trends given for all the villages.

Effect of Growth and Decline on Population Structure.—The tendency of the agricultural village to gain or lose population seems to affect the composition of its population. The important question of whether villages grow and to what degree is discussed in Chapter III. Here the attempt is simply to discover whether rapid changes in total population were associated with changes in the composition of the population.

TABLE 13.—COLOR, NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE OF POPULATION, BY DIVISION,—177 VILLAGES

Census division	Number of villages	Percentage distribution of population									
		White								Colored*	
		Native born of						Foreign-born			
		Native parentage		Foreign parentage		Mixed parentage					
		1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
Middle Atlantic†	34	82.0	83.4	7.0	6.4	5.9	5.9	4.4	3.7	0.7	0.6
East North Central	24	66.5	71.2	14.3	12.9	9.7	8.9	8.7	6.4	0.8	0.6
West North Central	41	61.5	66.2	15.5	14.2	10.7	10.0	11.3	8.4	1.0	1.2
South Atlantic	24	62.7	63.2	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	35.7	35.1
East South Central	11	75.6	78.7	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	23.0	20.1
West South Central	9	78.8	69.0	4.0	4.1	2.5	2.2	5.1	1.3	9.6	23.4
Mountain	7	76.1	78.1	7.8	6.7	9.0	7.8	6.3	3.9	0.8	3.5
Pacific	27	66.5	67.7	10.7	9.3	9.4	8.5	11.6	8.2	1.8	6.3

* Includes Negro and other colored, which, because of a change in classification by the census, accounts in part for the great increase in the West South Central states.

† Following the procedure adopted in *A Census Analysis of American Villages*, Thurmont has been included as a Middle Atlantic village although it is located in Maryland. This procedure was adopted because facts reveal that this village, which is located just below the Pennsylvania state line, is northern rather than southern in its chief characteristics. For example, it has only one Negro in a total population of 1,185.

To measure this factor two groups of villages within the 177 were selected for comparison, namely, those that between 1920 and 1930 had gained in population as rapidly or more rapidly than the nation as a whole, 16.1 percent, and those that in the same decade had lost 1 percent a year or more in population. Thirty-eight villages, more than one-fifth, fell in the first group. In the aggregate they had gained 37.3 percent in population during the last decade. In the other group were twenty-five villages, less than one-seventh, whose loss in population was 17.8 percent.[1]

The comparison of these two groups shows that the growing villages have a higher ratio of males to females, a larger proportion of children and of both men and women twenty to forty years of age; and, conversely, a significantly lower proportion of both sexes in the upper age-levels. The ratio of children under ten years of age to all women twenty to forty-five years of age is also higher in the growing villages than in those that lost population.

[1] It is interesting that, though a higher ratio of gain than of loss was used for inclusion in these samples, the groups are of unequal size, that of the villages gaining in population being half again as large as the declining group. To have made the group numerically equal all villages declining 4 percent or more per year would have had to be included in the declining group.

On the other hand, the economic opportunities that make for a growing population attract children away from school sooner than in the declining villages. This becomes apparent at the fourteen and fifteen year-old level, in the South owing to the sharp drop at these years; but from sixteen to twenty this trend holds for all regions. These economic opportunities, judging by the census facts on occupations, seem to be in manufacturing; and for females also in trade, as Chapter IV shows. In the main, all trends mentioned are consistent in all regions, and therefore total figures only are given in Table 14, which details the comparisons made.

The analysis of the composition of agricultural village population shows it to be significantly different from the total rural non-farm group

TABLE 14.—COMPOSITION OF POPULATION IN 177 VILLAGES, AND IN 38 GAINING AND 25 DECLINING VILLAGES, 1930

Item	177 villages, 1930 percent	38 villages gaining 16 percent or more 1920–1930 percent	25 villages declining 10 percent or more 1920–1930 percent
Age distribution:			
Males Under 10	17.9	19.0	18.2
10–19	18.2	18.6	19.2
20–29	14.7	16.1	13.7
30–39	13.1	14.1	12.5
40–49	12.2	12.1	12.8
50–59	10.3	9.6	10.5
60–69	7.8	5.8	7.5
70 and over	5.7	4.6	5.5
Unknown	0.1	0.1	0.1
Females Under 10	16.9	19.2	16.5
10–19	18.1	19.4	19.2
20–29	15.8	16.9	16.0
30–39	13.3	14.0	13.5
40–49	12.2	11.9	12.7
50–59	10.0	8.8	9.5
60–69	7.8	5.8	7.2
70 and over	5.8	3.9	5.4
Unknown	0.1	0.1	0.0
School attendance:			
Males 7–20	79.5	77.9	79.9
7–13	95.8	95.1	94.5
14 & 15	91.5	90.4	91.9
16 & 17	70.1	68.5	73.6
18–20	33.9	30.8	36.6
Females 7–20	78.6	77.5	79.8
7–13	96.2	95.1	95.6
14 & 15	91.7	89.7	91.5
16 & 17	73.1	72.2	78.4
18–20	32.7	31.0	36.1
Ratio males to females	95.1	99.2	94.7
Ratio children under 10 to females 20 to 45	95.7	102.4	94.8

in age-, and sex-distribution and other population items, and to be experiencing certain definite trends within itself. Thus far, however, no comparisons have been made between the structure of the population of agricultural villages and that of the farm population with which it is so closely bound in many ways. Nor have these village populations been compared with those of the city.

To make such a comparison possible, a group of thirty-eight medium sized cities, ranging from 25,585 to 104,437 in population, was chosen. They were scattered geographically throughout all the regions in which the sample of 177 villages are located, and all of them have diversified industries.[1] The country comparison was made directly on the basis of the "farm" census classification. These comparisons are complicated. They show that in certain respects the village population is more like that of the city than it is like that of the country. In other respects the village population is more like the country than the city. In terms of the changes that have taken place within the last decade they show that though the village may be more like city or country, both city and country by 1930 had become somewhat more like the village in the composition of their population than was the case in 1920. The data on which these comparisons are based are given in Table 15 at the end of the chapter. This table permits the student also to calculate the points of difference, plus or minus, between any two elements.

This table may be summarized somewhat as follows: In 1930 village population resembled urban more than farm in the ratio of persons under 21 attending school, in illiteracy ratios, the ratio of males to females, the proportion married and single, the ratio of children to women 20 to 45 years of age, and in the proportion of minors in thk population.

Conversely, the village was more like the farm population in the proportion of native and foreign-born white, the proportion divorced and, except for the older females, the proportion of adults in the population.

Finally, in such important matters as the proportions of native and foreign-born white in the population, the ratio of children to women 20 to 45 years of age, and the proportions in many of the age-groups, the village, city and farm populations were more nearly alike in 1930 than in 1920. This was true even though in a few instances the village popula-

[1] Middle Atlantic—Amsterdam, Auburn, Binghampton, Elmira, Jamestown, Rome, New York; Allentown, Harrisburg, Lancaster, York, Pennsylvania. South—Mobile, Alabama; Little Rock, Arkansas; Augusta, Georgia; Lexington, Kentucky; Charlotte and Wilmington, North Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee; Austin and Waco, Texas; and Roanoke, Virginia. Middle West—Jackson, Michigan; Richmond, Indiana; Green Bay, Wisconsin; Decatur and Peoria, Illinois; Dubuque and Sioux City, Iowa; Lincoln, Nebraska; Topeka and Wichita, Kansas. Far West—Fresno, Sacramento, San Jose and Stockton, California; Bellingham, Everett, Spokane and Tacoma, Washington.

tion more closely resembled the city or farm population and hence was more different from the other in terms of points of difference in 1930 than in 1920.[1]

It seems apparent therefore from the table presented, despite certain regional differences on one item or another, that in important respects the village population structure is tending to become a mid-point which city and farm populations are approaching. It is possible that this is simply an accident or coincidence but it is a point that should be observed when the 1940 census returns are available. If, as sociologists have foretold, the population of the United States is to reach a maximum in the next twenty or thirty years, it is possible that the composition of the village population of today is indicative of what the composition of the national population will be in 1950 and 1960.

Before presenting the table that gives in detail the data on which the foregoing discussion has been based it is well to recall the chief conclusions of this chapter. Rural America has experienced three great population movements: from the East to the West, from the farms to the cities and recently from cities to farms. The farm population reached its peak with the census of 1910 and then began to decline. For a century the total rural has been a declining proportion of the national population. The recent movement to the farms has brought the farm population back to the 1910 peak. There have grown up with the total rural population two elements, farm and non-farm, the latter mostly villagers, who have been increasing at a more rapid rate than the population as a whole. These two elements in the rural population show varying trends and have different population characteristics. Within the rural non-farm group the agricultural villagers are the most numerous and important elements, and these villagers again differ significantly in their characteristics from the farm and total non-farm population. Knowledge of these movements of population and of the varying characteristics thereby produced is important for an understanding of recent rural social trends.

[1] As will be noted in Table 15, comparisons as to change between 1920 and 1930 in respect to all the particulars given are not possible because of limitations in the 1920 census data.

TABLE 15.—COMPOSITION OF POPULATION IN 177 VILLAGES, 38 MEDIUM CITIES AND IN RURAL FARM POPULATION, BY REGION

	1920			1930		
	177 villages	38 cities	U.S. rural farm	177 villages	38 cities	U.S. rural farm
	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent	percent
Native white population						
Middle Atlantic	94.9	84.8	92.7	95.6	86.0	91.8
South	71.7	69.6	68.7	70.9	71.5	69.3
Middle West	88.9	87.2	91.1	91.5	89.9	92.7
Far West	88.1	78.5	82.5	87.0	79.4	79.3
Foreign born population						
Middle Atlantic	4.4	13.2	6.5	3.8	11.6	7.4
South	1.6	2.5	1.0	0.7	1.6	0.4
Middle West	10.2	9.7	8.2	7.6	6.1	6.4
Far West	10.4	18.6	12.3	7.3	15.7	10.0
Illitcracy (native white)						
Middle Atlantic	0.5	0.6	.....	0.4	0.8	0.8
South	2.2	2.4	.....	1.7	1.6	5.6
Middle West	0.8	0.5	.....	0.6	0.3	0.9
Far West	0.4	0.2	.....	0.3	0.2	1.0
School attendance						
Middle Atlantic	74.8	66.3	.....	80.9	74.1	74.6
South	72.5	66.2	.....	73.5	70.9	68.9
Middle West	78.1	67.6	.....	80.9	77.1	74.8
Far West	77.3	72.9	.....	82.8	81.1	78.6
Ratio males to females						
Middle Atlantic	88.0	96.4	110.3	90.8	96.3	115.0
South	94.3	93.6	105.0	91.3	90.6	106.2
Middle West	95.1	99.3	113.0	95.3	95.8	115.7
Far West	105.2	107.7	123.0	104.7	104.5	124.5
Ratio children under 10 to women 20 to 45						
Middle Atlantic	84.5	80.2	129.6	88.4	79.7	139.5
South	107.0	79.0	179.7	99.7	75.9	169.5
Middle West	97.3	80.2	147.6	94.3	78.1	140.9
Far West	105.9	79.3	155.5	98.4	73.4	146.6
	Males					
Marital status:						
Single						
Middle Atlantic	26.8	32.3	.....	26.2	32.4	37.5
South	32.7	33.0	.....	31.1	31.8	34.6
Middle West	31.9	33.4	.....	30.4	29.6	38.2
Far West	33.0	36.2	.....	31.6	34.4	40.3
Married						
Middle Atlantic	66.1	61.8	.....	66.5	61.4	55.9
South	61.4	60.9	.....	63.3	62.0	60.0
Middle West	61.7	60.1	.....	62.4	63.5	56.4
Far West	60.2	56.7	.....	61.0	57.7	53.4
Widowed						
Middle Atlantic	6.7	5.2	.....	6.5	5.1	5.9
South	5.1	5.1	.....	4.8	4.7	4.6
Middle West	5.7	4.9	.....	6.1	4.7	4.7
Far West	5.2	4.4	.....	5.3	4.6	4.8

TABLE. 15.—COMPOSITION OF POPULATION IN 177 VILLAGES, 38 MEDIUM CITIES AND IN RURAL FARM POPULATION, BY REGION.—(*Continued*)

	1920			1930		
	177 villages percent	38 cities percent	U.S. rural farm percent	177 villages percent	38 cities percent	U.S. rural farm percent
	Males (*Continued*)					
Marital status: (*Continued*)						
Divorced						
Middle Atlantic	0.3	0.5	.....	0.6	0.9	0.5
South	0.3	0.8	.....	0.8	1.3	0.6
Middle West	0.6	1.4	.....	1.0	2.1	0.7
Far West	1.4	1.6	.....	2.0	2.7	1.4
	Females					
Single						
Middle Atlantic	26.7	28.9	.....	24.6	28.2	25.5
South	28.4	27.0	.....	26.7	26.7	25.7
Middle West	28.1	28.3	.....	26.3	26.8	25.0
Far West	22.6	24.7	.....	21.2	23.9	22.2
Married						
Middle Atlantic	56.3	57.9	.....	59.3	58.3	65.7
South	56.6	56.1	.....	56.9	55.8	64.5
Middle West	57.4	58.4	.....	58.2	59.3	67.7
Far West	63.5	61.1	.....	64.5	60.5	69.8
Widowed						
Middle Atlantic	16.4	12.3	.....	15.0	12.1	8.3
South	14.2	15.3	.....	15.0	15.1	9.0
Middle West	13.5	11.7	.....	14.2	11.3	6.8
Far West	12.4	11.9	.....	12.5	12.2	7.0
Divorced						
Middle Atlantic	0.5	0.8	.....	0.7	1.3	0.3
South	0.5	1.4	.....	1.2	2.2	0.7
Middle West	0.9	1.5	.....	1.3	2.4	0.4
Far West	1.5	2.1	.....	1.8	3.2	0.8
	Males					
Age group						
Under 10						
Middle Atlantic	16.3	18.3	18.9	16.3	16.5	18.5
South	22.3	18.9	27.8	20.6	18.9	25.5
Middle West	18.2	17.5	22.9	17.1	17.4	20.3
Far West	19.1	16.1	22.5	17.3	14.6	19.5
10–19						
Middle Atlantic	15.4	15.9	21.1	15.6	17.1	21.9
South	19.8	17.7	24.9	20.8	17.6	25.5
Middle West	17.5	15.5	21.2	17.7	16.2	22.0
Far West	16.6	14.6	19.2	17.8	15.5	20.8
20–44						
Middle Atlantic	33.4	41.4	29.9	33.2	40.1	29.3
South	36.5	43.2	29.0	35.3	42.9	29.0
Middle West	32.9	42.9	33.5	32.6	41.2	32.2
Far West	36.8	42.5	35.3	35.5	39.7	32.9
45–64						
Middle Atlantic	23.8	19.2	21.8	23.0	20.4	21.8
South	16.3	16.4	14.1	17.8	16.7	15.3
Middle West	21.4	18.8	17.3	21.2	19.1	19.0
Far West	20.2	21.1	18.4	20.9	23.1	20.4

TABLE 15.—COMPOSITION OF POPULATION IN 177 VILLAGES, 38 MEDIUM CITIES AND IN RURAL FARM POPULATION, BY REGION.—(*Continued*)

	1920			1930		
	177 villages percent	38 cities percent	U.S. rural farm percent	177 villages percent	38 cities percent	U.S. rural farm percent
	Males (*Continued*)					
Age group (*Continued*)						
65 and over						
Middle Atlantic	11.0	5.1	8.3	11.9	5.9	8.4
South	4.7	3.5	4.1	5.5	3.8	4.6
Middle West	9.7	5.1	5.1	11.4	6.0	6.6
Far West	7.1	4.8	4.4	8.4	6.9	6.3
	Females					
Under 10						
Middle Atlantic	14.2	17.7	20.8	14.6	15.7	20.4
South	20.5	17.8	28.3	19.3	16.9	26.3
Middle West	17.0	17.1	24.7	15.9	16.1	22.4
Far West	19.7	16.9	26.5	17.5	14.8	23.3
10–19						
Middle Atlantic	15.2	16.0	19.8	14.7	17.0	21.7
South	21.0	18.7	25.0	20.5	17.8	25.0
Middle West	18.2	16.8	21.7	17.4	16.8	22.3
Far West	18.8	16.8	21.1	19.1	17.1	22.7
20–44						
Middle Atlantic	33.8	41.1	32.2	33.2	39.7	29.9
South	38.8	44.9	32.0	38.0	45.0	31.5
Middle West	35.2	43.0	34.3	34.2	41.9	32.5
Far West	37.6	43.2	34.8	36.2	41.1	32.5
45–64						
Middle Atlantic	24.4	18.9	20.0	24.1	20.5	20.6
South	14.4	14.5	11.3	16.6	15.8	13.3
Middle West	20.2	17.6	15.0	21.2	18.7	17.5
Far West	17.5	18.1	14.3	19.5	20.3	17.1
65 and over						
Middle Atlantic	12.3	6.2	7.3	13.3	7.1	7.4
South	5.0	3.9	3.4	5.5	4.3	3.8
Middle West	9.2	5.4	4.3	11.3	6.4	5.2
Far West	6.3	4.8	3.2	7.6	6.7	4.4

In connection with the discussion in the latter part of this chapter the attention of the reader is called to Lorge, Irving, *A Census Analysis of American Villages:* 1930 (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933). This is a detailed analysis village by village of all data for the 177 agricultural villages. It makes possible therefore detailed comparisons on a state basis. It is comparable to Fry, C. L., *A Census Analysis of American Villages:* 1920 (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1925) pp. 165.

Chapter II

COUNTRY LIFE AND AGRICULTURE

WHATEVER similarities there may be in the composition of the populations of the agricultural villages and the cities, the chief economic reliance of these villages is upon agriculture. It is largely to serve the farm population that they exist, as will be shown in Chap. IV. Here it is first necessary to consider country life and agriculture, not only because of their own importance but for a better understanding of the whole rural field. Just as country people have an economic life that is interrelated with the economic life of the rest of society, yet still distinctive, so their social life, while changing and adjusting under the pressure of their own needs and of the interrelated needs of other social groups, is in many respects also distinctive.

The importance of this inquiry is apparent when it is recalled that the farm population make up over 30 million persons living on over 6 million farms. Every region has its quota of farms; and while the number is decreasing in the highly industrialized states, nevertheless, as will be shown, certain specialized types of agriculture are developing even near cities, so that everywhere agriculture is an industry of some dimensions. It utilizes more than half the area of the nation. Table 16 gives some indication of this.

Table 16.—Number of Farms by Division

Division	In thousands				Percent increase 1920–1930	Percentage total area in farms 1930
	1910	1920	1925	1930*		
United States	6,361.5	6,448.3	6,371.6	6,288.6	− 2.5	51.8
New England	188.8	156.5	159.4	124.9	−20.2	36.0
Middle Atlantic	468.4	425.2	418.8	357.6	−15.9	54.8
East North Central	1,123.5	1,084.7	1,051.6	966.5	−10.9	70.6
West North Central	1,109.9	1,097.0	1,111.3	1,112.7	1.4	81.2
South Atlantic	1,111.9	1,159.0	1,108.1	1,058.4	− 8.7	50.2
East South Central	1,042.5	1,051.6	1,006.1	1,062.2	1.0	63.4
West South Central	943.2	996.1	1,017.3	1,103.1	10.7	66.9
Mountain	183.4	244.1	233.4	241.3	− 1.1	28.6
Pacific	189.9	234.2	265.6	261.7	11.8	29.7

Source: "Agriculture, Summary for the United States, 1929 and 1930," *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, p. 23.

* There are about 70,000 places reported on the incidental agricultural production schedules which qualify as farms but were not included in the agricultural census reports so far issued for 1930. If these were included there would be almost as many farms in 1930 as in 1910.

This chapter will consider the changing significance of agriculture as a source of employment, trends in the use of land and land tenure, the problems encountered in attempting to gain a livelihood from farming, the attempts by farmers to control agriculture and finally the changing social life and organization of the country.

Relative Importance of Agriculture as Gainful Employment Declines.—Alone among the major occupational groupings listed by the census, agriculture showed between 1910 and 1930 a decrease, not only in the actual number of workers it employed but in its proportion of the total number of workers in the United States. Moreover, this decrease in proportion has been continuous since 1820, while in every other major group there has been a proportionate increase.

This decrease was measured by hundredths and tenths of percents at first, agriculture dropping only from 32.14 to 30.18 percent of the population ten years of age and over between 1820 and 1850, during which time manufacturing rose from 5.43 to 7.67 percent and trade plus transportation from 1.12 to 2.52 percent. The burst of industrial activity and railroad building in the mid-century carried the agriculturally employed down to 23.71 percent of the total population ten years of age and over by 1870, and manufacturing up to 9.43 percent. The industrial depression of the 1870's and the opening of the trans-Mississippi area through homesteading, then held agriculture steady for a decade; but by 1890 the decline had again set in. Barely a fifth of America's inhabitants ten years of age and over were then employed in agriculture; and by 1910 less than one-sixth, while industry claimed more than one-seventh and trade plus transportation nearly one-tenth.

By 1920 the transition of the United States from an agricultural to an industrial nation was finally marked by the passing of agriculture from first place as a means of livelihood. Between 1910 and 1920, the proportion of its employees to the total population ten years of age and over fell from 16.35 to 13.20 percent, while the industrially employed achieved first place by lifting their proportion from 14.85 to 15.49. By 1930 industry further increased its lead over agriculture, the respective proportions being 14.50 and 10.62 percent. During these 110 years since 1820, moreover, the proportion of the population gainfully employed rose from 44.7 to 49.5 percent.

Land Tenure: Farm Tenancy Increases.—Land is, of course, the basis of all agriculture; and the farmers of the world have always been land seekers. To own the acres they tilled was their great objective. In the United States, land ownership early became traditional. With a virgin continent where land could be had almost for the clearing, it could hardly have been otherwise. When population increased and land grew scarce, the homestead laws opened the further West to aspiring farm owner-operators. But none the less the proportion of farm tenant-opera-

tors began to assume sufficient importance after the Civil War to become a matter of census inquiry in 1880. In that year 25.6 percent of the farmers were found to be tenants, a proportion that increased by 28.4 by 1890.

With the closing decade of the nineteenth century began the rapid rise in the price of farm land which lasted for thirty years. Tenancy also rose apace; among many other reasons because it took longer for a prospective owner to accumulate the capital sufficient to purchase a farm. The proportion of tenant-operated farms increased by more than one-fourth, and stood in 1900 at 35.3 percent of the total.

Many felt that this was an alarming portent in American life. Tenancy was increasing most rapidly in the most prosperous agricultural areas. It was pointed out that owner-operators supported community organizations and that tenants did not, even by membership. Tenants were found to have a lower standard of living than owners. There were prophecies that the American farmer would become like the European, a landless peasant.

But with the new century, the rate of increase in tenant-operated farms slackened. In 1910, 37 percent of the farms were so managed; and in 1920, 38.1 percent. Despite the early years of the agricultural depression, the special agricultural census of 1925 found only a slight increase in tenancy, the proportion of tenant operated farms being 38.7 percent.

By this time students of the problem had pointed out that tenants could not be considered as a group. The so-called "croppers" of the South, lacking any capital at all and financed by their landlords, were not to be compared with the tenants of the Middle West, who might own much of their machinery and livestock. Yet 22.9 percent of all tenants were croppers in 1920, a proportion that rose to 29 percent in 1930; all of this increase occurring after 1925. Many tenants, especially outside the South, were blood relations of the owners, definitely looking forward to ownership. These persons were of better education and stayed longer on the same farms than other tenants. Their behavior in matters of social concern was closely akin to that of the owners. Approximately one-fifth of all tenants and three-tenths of those outside the South were in this group in 1930, the latter figure showing little change since 1925.

By 1925, therefore, it seemed as if the rapid increase in tenant operation had ended, and that outside the South with its croppers the problem was in the way of solution. But the continuance of the agricultural depression again accelerated the rate of increase. Between 1925 and 1930 the proportion of tenant-operated farms gained more per year on the average than in the entire first half of the decade. The 1930 census showed 42.4 percent of the farms to be tenant-operated. Every region except the Middle Atlantic shared in the increase, whereas between 1920 and 1925 five of the nine major census divisions showed a decline in farm tenancy. Furthermore, while these tenants controlled less than one-third

of the land in farms, theirs was two-fifths of the harvested acreage in 1930.

Thus in the fifty years from 1880 to 1930, the United States has seen the number of farms operated by owners decline from three in every four to less than three in every five. In the South, by 1930, owners controlled barely two in every five farms. In the Middle West the proportion of owners is approximately two out of three. In the other regions owners are on four of every five farms or better.

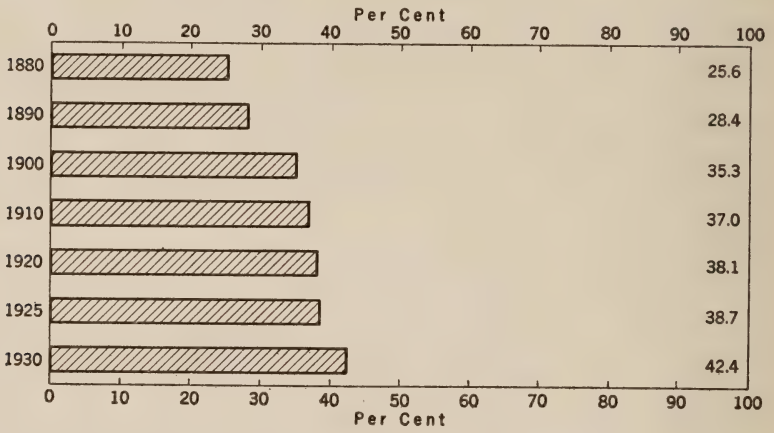

FIG. 7.—Proportion of all farms operated by tenants, 1880 to 1930.

The irregular but ever-upward line that represents the increasing proportion of tenant-operated farms between 1880 and 1930 cannot be projected into the future. Undoubtedly many farmers who were owner-operators in 1930 are now tenants, having lost their farms through foreclosure due to the continued depression. On the other hand, as was noted in the first chapter, there is at present a movement of people from the cities to the farms; and it is said that many of them are purchasing their farms. However, in the main, there is no sign of an immediate decline in the percentage of tenant-operated farms.

But if it is hard to read the future, there are many reasons to explain why the rapid rise in farm tenancy between 1890 and 1900 was so nearly checked in the succeeding quarter-century; and one of these reasons concerns a knotty problem of present-day farm life.

Mortgage Indebtedness on the Increase.—Owing to the increased credit made available to the farmer on terms more favorable than he had previously been able to secure, many farmers borrowed to become owners of their land. The steadily rising price of land gave the lending agencies greater confidence in farm land as security for loans; and the organization of federal and state lending agencies such as the Federal Land Banks, the Joint Stock Land Banks, and the South Dakota, Minne-

sota and other farm-loan funds reduced interest rates, facilitated the securing of loans, and provided for long-term repayment.

The increase in the value of farm land that helped to change the agricultural credit situation was little short of startling. From 16 billion dollars in 1900, it more than doubled by 1910, standing then at 34 billions. By 1920 the valuation was 66.3 billions, with all farm property equalling almost 78 billions. The agricultural depression that began with 1921, had by 1930 carried these valuations down to 47.9 and 57.2 billions respectively. There were, of course, regional variations in this decline, as was shown by the studies of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture which are summarized in Table 17.

TABLE 17.—ESTIMATED VALUE PER ACRE OF FARM REAL ESTATE, BY DIVISION
(1912–1914 = 100)

Census division	1920	1925	1930	1931	1932
United States	170	127	115	106	89
New England	140	127	127	126	116
Middle Atlantic	136	114	106	101	96
East North Central	161	116	96	87	73
West North Central	184	126	109	97	81
South Atlantic	198	148	128	116	96
East South Central	199	141	128	117	97
West South Central	177	144	136	121	97
Mountain	151	105	102	100	82
Pacific	156	146	142	140	118

Source: Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Mortgage indebtedness on owner-operated farms rose from 1.7 to 4 billions between 1900 and 1920, and to 4.5 billions in 1925, whence it declined slightly to 4.08 billions in 1930. Much of the increase from 1900 to 1920 was used, as noted, to finance the purchasing of farms. Much of the subsequent rise was to convert short-term loans into mortgage obligations. The decline since 1925 represents in large part foreclosures due to the depression. The number of these foreclosures in some states has reached serious proportions. According to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics the number of foreclosures per 1,000 farms was more than one-tenth in a number of states between March 15, 1926 and March 15, 1931, as the following figures show.

NUMBER FARMS PER 1,000 LOST BY FORECLOSURE 1926–1931

South Dakota	237.9	South Carolina	150.9
Montana	235.0	Missouri	138.2
North Dakota	224.9	New Mexico	131.7
Arizona	192.2	Georgia	129.0
Minnesota	163.4	Nebraska	125.5
Idaho	163.3	Oklahoma	125.0
Iowa	157.4		

In Kansas, Arkansas, Michigan, Illinois and Indiana the ratio of foreclosures was between 100 and 125 farms per 1,000. Many of the foreclosure sales failed to net the amount of the mortgage. Few produced more than this plus back interest, taxes and charges. In Minnesota a study by the state college of agriculture showed that on the average foreclosure sales netted only 4 percent more than the liabilities plus the charges. In the light of these figures, agrarian unrest becomes quite explicable.

Debt on owner-operated farms is of course by no means all of the farm debt. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture has estimated that in 1928 the total farm debt amounted to 9.47 billions, a sum equal to 21 percent of the total value of farm real estate in that year. While there has been some reduction since then due to foreclosures,[1] the Department recently stated that the ratio of farm mortgage loans to land value was the highest in our national history.[2] For mortgaged farms the ratio of debt to true value rose from 29 to 39.6 percent between 1920 and 1930, according to the census.

What this situation means in a local community is shown by the case of the highly superior neighborhood described in Appendix C. This locality had been outstanding in its state for years. Measured by proportion of owner-operated farms and by the possession of equipment and conveniences, it had long been in the front rank. But by 1931 farms had been taken from families in whose names title has resided almost from the beginning. Tenancy had increased from 39 to 52 percent in the fifteen-year period. The ages of owner-operators increased. One other significant tendency was revealed by the fact that in 1915, 94 percent of the tenants declared their intention of becoming landowners, while in 1930 the percentage dropped to 45. In conversation some of these tenants declared that ownership was no longer a goal toward which to direct family effort, and pointed out that functions of ownership and utilization or cultivation could well be separated. Many of the tenants were making more money and were living better than the owners. Why should they be "tied down" with debt and taxes, without opportunity to change occupations should the opportunity present itself, they argued. This is a question to which farm leaders will have to give more thought in the future than they have given in the past.[3]

[1] Between 1928 and September, 1932, farm loans by the Federal land banks have declined from 1.2 billions to 1.13 billions; those of the joint stock land banks from 605 to 454 millions; those of 40 life insurance companies from 1.6 to 1.45 billions. Loans by member banks of the Federal Reserve system have declined from 489 millions in 1926 and 444 millions in 1928 to 345 millions in June 1932. In the eleven months ending October 1932, the decline in outstanding loans of the two Federal agencies has averaged 8 millions a month, and those of the life insurance companies 5 millions a month. *Cf. The Agricultural Situation* (Bureau of Agricultural Economics, November 1932). P. 23.

[2] *The United States Daily*, Washington, D. C., April 24, 1932.

[3] See Appendix C.

The Rise and Fall of Land Values.—A glimpse at the difficulties inherent in the financing of farm purchases on the basis of rapidly rising land values when a deflation of serious proportions sets in, is to be found in the 1931 annual report of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau. During 1931 the Federal Farm Loan agencies sold 6,144 farms, 35 percent more than in 1930, and foreclosed on 11,258, 72 percent more than in 1930.

In the course of the field work of this study, a number of instances were found where the farmer, realizing that the amount due on his mortgage was more than the value of the farm, had abandoned the place. One regional official of the Federal Land Bank remarked jokingly that the bank might have to go into farming. However, on December 31, 1931, less than one-fourth of the borrowers from federal land banks the country over were delinquent, and about two-thirds of the delinquents less than 90 days behind in their payments.

Life insurance companies and state farm loan funds had similar difficulties. In a middle-western county studied in this survey, one eastern life insurance company had foreclosed on 50 farms in 1929–30. In a single far-western community the bank had taken over 35 farms from 1926 to 1929.

It must be remembered that during the period of rising land values and expanding farm indebtedness the value of the nineteen major crops and by-products did not increase commensurately. In fact it averaged only about 8 percent more than during the decade of 1890 to 1900 when tenancy was increasing with great rapidity.[1] It seems clear therefore that the rise in tenancy was checked by loans made on land values that, because of the demand for land and because of speculation, rose far more rapidly than the earning power of the land. This fact has doubtless intensified the difficulties of the deflation and depression of 1921–33. This in turn caused the increase in tenancy between 1925 and 1930 as the cumulative effects of the depression made themselves felt. Thus, while the number of farms in the United States dropped only 2.5 percent between 1920 and 1930 to 6.28 million, the number of farm owners declined 13.5 percent or from 3.36 to 2.91 millions, more than two-fifths of whom were encumbered by mortgages.[2]

Some Social Effects.—The social effects of this recent, depression-borne increase in tenancy and increase in debt, are difficult to forecast. Certainly the situation is more serious than it was in 1920. The farmer who has slipped back from ownership to tenancy has gone through a psychological, as well as an economic, experience that will profoundly affect him. It is impossible to tabulate those effects; but in the course

[1] *Cf.* Baker, O. E., "Utilization of Natural Wealth," *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1933), Part I, chapter ii.

[2] This computation does not include farms that were partly owned and partly rented, of which there were 558.5 thousands in 1920 and 656.7 thousands in 1930, over half of them in the Middle West.

of the field work certain interesting evidences appeared. There is a rather wide and fairly intelligent interest in Russia; and guarded statements of approval of some features of the Russian system by leading farmers, even in small groups, were not infrequent even in the South. Indeed this attitude was not absent from some of the farm press. Typical of other editorial utterances is the following from the *Oklahoma Cotton Grower:*

> The Soviet Russia system of distribution, though not perfect, at least does not allow its people to starve. Every man, woman and child who is willing to work is provided with sufficient food and clothing to keep him in comfort.
>
> The savages in the jungles of Africa, if they could comprehend, would laugh to scorn the system or lack of system which allows some of our people to go hungry when there is sufficient food and more for all to have plenty.[1]

In many places organized public opinion stopped foreclosures or tax sales. The former owner, now tenant, and the farmer whose acres are mortgaged, viewing urban unemployment, are bending every effort to meet their obligations rather than migrate to the city, as all lending agencies testify. Neither is as ready now to support community enterprises involving expense. But at least up to 1930, as later chapters will show, personal and community standards of living had made some progress over 1920 despite the agricultural depression.

To sustain these standards of living, however, the farmer must solve a number of pressing problems. In the first place, if he is in debt or obligated to pay a cash rental, he finds that owing to the decline in commodity prices it takes a far larger proportion of his total crop to meet such obligations than it did when they were incurred.

Mechanized Agriculture and Overproduction.—Furthermore, part of this price decline is due to the problem of adjusting and controlling production to meet demand. Modern agriculture has made great strides forward in efficiency. The tractor, the combine, and other machines, together with improved seeds, fertilizers, and methods of cultivation have increased per acre yields.

The number of tractors on farms for instance increased from 246 to 920 thousand between 1920 and 1930. This movement was greatly stimulated by the export demand for cereal crops and cotton during, and for a few years after the World War. But with the production power of American agriculture at its peak, the American farmer had to meet competition, largely shut off during the War, from South America and Australia. Russia re-entered the world market, and nearly bankrupt European countries are striving desperately to achieve agricultural self-sufficiency. Exports of cereals dropped, for example, from a peak of 533 million bushels in 1921–22 to 210 millions in 1925–26. The machine also, by sup-

[1] *Oklahoma Cotton Grower,* Oklahoma City, April 1932.

planting animal power, reduced the consumption of crops on the farm. Mounting, unsold surpluses have resulted. In an attempt to cope with this situation the Federal Farm Board was organized in 1929 with a fund of half a billion dollars at its disposal. But despite such government efforts, commodity prices have continued downward; and in many major crops surpluses hang over the market as this is being written in the early summer of 1932. The adjustment of production to demand in agriculture has clearly not been achieved.

Buying Power Disparity.—A third problem follows from the second. Since the agricultural depression began in 1921 the farmers' buying power, as measured by the ratio of the prices he receives to the price he pays for what goods he needs, has been out of line with the past relationships of those two indices. If the relationship existing from August 1909 to July 1914 be taken as a base and called 100, the fluctuations since clearly show one of the reasons for the present situation. The index numbers of the ratio of prices received by the farmer to prices paid for commodities purchased, by years, as reported by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture, is as follows:

1914	101	1919	102	1924	87	1929	89
1915	95	1920	99	1925	92	1930	80
1916	95	1921	75	1926	87	1931	62
1917	118	1922	81	1927	85	July, 1932	48
1918	112	1923	88	1928	90	Sept., 1932	56

Allowing for the drop in the prices of manufactured goods, it takes about 18 units of farm produce to buy today what 10 units bought in 1928 or 1929. In those years, as the Secretary of Agriculture stated in his 1929 report, the farmer appeared to be nearing the end of the long, hard road of post-war readjustment. But his recovery was ended by the industrial depression that set in with the summer of 1929.

Farm Income Fluctuates.—The farmers buying power naturally raises the question of his income. A careful study of farm income from 1919 to 1930 has been made by the United States Department of Agriculture.[1] Gross farm income, including the farm value of products retained for consumption, was 15.4 billions of dollars in 1919, 8.7 billions in 1921, and ranged from 11.3 to nearly 12 billions between 1924 and 1929. In 1930 it was 9.3 billions, and in 1931 just under 7 billions. Between 1924 and 1929 the income available for capital, unpaid labor and management moved within the narrow range of 660.1 millions and 695.6 millions of dollars, after all deductions for operating costs, wages to hired labor, and taxes had been made. In 1930 the comparable figure was 466.9 millions. On a per farm basis, this equals from $866 in 1928, the low year between 1924 and 1929, to $903 in 1925. In 1930 the return was $598. Similarly

[1] *Cf. Crops and Markets*, Washington, D. C., September, 1931.

returns on capital invested ranged from 3.4 to 4.7 percent; but in 1930 invested capital earned no return. In fact there was a deficit of 1.4 percent. Agriculture's share of the national income appears also to have declined from 16.6 percent in 1910 to 14.9 percent in 1920, 11.1 percent in 1925, and 9.3 percent in 1928; a fact which bears a relationship to the disparity of rural and urban buying power.

Increasing Tax Burden.—Further, the farmer faces the problem of taxation. Throughout this period taxes that had been but 130 percent of the pre-war level in 1919 went from 232 percent in 1922 to 266 percent in 1930. Besides, these taxes had to be paid with products that, from the 1918–20 levels, had declined about 35 percent in value between 1921 and 1930 and 60 percent in 1931. They were based too on the value of real property inexpertly assessed in accordance with a tax system devised when the United States was an agricultural nation not far removed from a barter economy, but of questionable value in a highly industrialized, money economy. Study after study by state colleges of agriculture has shown that the farmer pays a far higher share of income to the tax collector than the city man.[1]

While taxes declined somewhat in 1930 and 1931, they are still more than double the 1918 level; and prices have fallen far more than taxes, so that relatively the burden is worse. The tax situation is one reason for the increase in tenancy; because, as noted, many farmers are finding that they can make more money as tenants than as owners. One important incentive to ownership is thus removed. Tax sales too are being added to foreclosure sales, and thousands of rural municipalities as a result are embarassed in meeting their obligations. In 17 counties in northern Wisconsin, stated by the United States Department of Agriculture to be "illustrative of a widespread tendency in many parts of the United States,"[2] nearly one-third of the land was sold at tax sale in the single year 1927 in one county, more than 30 percent in three others, and 20 percent or more in twelve. In all, 2,600,000 acres were disposed of, 73 percent of which had to be bought by the counties under a law that provided that tax certificates not otherwise purchased must be acquired by the county.

One of these counties was studied in 1921 and again in 1930 in the present investigation. In the first year the county was enthusiastically battling the stumps left by the lumbering interests. Settlers were pouring in, many of them foreign-born.[3] Everything seemed headed toward

[1] Fifteen of these studies are summarized in *Taxation on Farm Property*, Whitney Coombs (United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin, 172, February, 1930).

[2] Gray and Baker, *Land Utilization and the Farm Problem* (United States Department of Agriculture, 1930), p. 23.

[3] *Cf.* Fry, C. Luther, *The New and Old Immigrant on the Land* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1923).

the development of a stable and reasonably prosperous agricultural county within a few years. In 1927 more than one-fourth of the area of this county was put up at tax sales. In 1930 only 5 percent of the area was in crops, 8 percent in lumber, and the rest, save for village sites, railroad right-of-ways and the like, was idle.

In a rural county in North Carolina, part of which was surveyed in 1924 and again in 1930, the property of 58 persons was advertised for tax sale in 1915, the total amount due being less than $500. In 1925, 800 persons were similarly involved, and in 1929 about 1,400 who owed $52,630, or an average of $37.60 each, allowed their property to go to tax sale. In this case, and in many others found during the field work of this investigation, much of the property attracted no bidders and reverted to the local government.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture estimates that between March 15, 1926, and March 15, 1931, 109 of every 1,000 farms in Montana were sold for taxes. In North Dakota the number per thousand was 86; in South Dakota, 66; Idaho, 68; Virginia, 70; West Virginia, 68; Missouri, 23; Kansas, 17. These losses added to those from foreclosure show the complete collapse of agriculture, especially in one-crop states.

The effect of such a situation upon social institutions such as schools and churches, and upon government itself, is adverse. Tax revenue obviously declines and tax supported activities suffer. Furthermore, where huge acreages have become tax delinquent, serious problems of public policy are involved. Should such land be allowed to be idle and grow up to inferior species of trees? Should it be reforested and, if so, by what agency? Should still other farmers be allowed to occupy land that has failed even to produce its taxes? What policies should be adopted to maintain roads and schools for farmers who are still struggling on here and there surrounded by large areas that no one wants and where no one lives?[1]

Changing Consumer Demands.—Finally the farmer is confronted with changing consumer demands. The consumption of food products per person is lower today than at any time since 1910. The per capita consumption of cereals has declined 140 pounds from that of the period 1897–1901. In the main, cereals and some meats have lost favor with the public, while milk and its by-products have gained most. Some of these changes have come suddenly, and are difficult if not impossible to predict. Table 18 gives the changes in the consumption of the more important food products per person.

[1] Wisconsin now has a law permitting counties to exchange county-held land for privately owned land where this will result in more advantageous location of isolated farm families.

TABLE 18.—CHANGES IN CONSUMPTION OF FOOD PRODUCTS PER PERSON
(Base: 1909–1913 = 100)

	1910	1920	1925	1930
Total food	99	97	106	96
Milk and products	100	106	121	121
Sugar	94	116	136	125
Beef and veal	107	97	97	78
Pork and lard	95	101	111	113
Wheat flour	101	84	85	84
Corn and rye	104	49	46	49

Sourse: Baker: "Agricultural and Forest Land," *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, (New York, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 1933) Vol. I, chap. ii, Part 2.

Adjustments to the Situation.—Farmers are adjusting to the situation in a number of ways which can be summarized under two main categories. They are changing their schemes of farm management and they are seeking to control agriculture by economic and legislative devices.

The changes in farm management are to be seen clearly by studying the size of farms. The average size of farms has begun to increase. In 1900 it was 146.2 acres; in 1920, 148.2; and in 1930, 156.9. Most of the increase has taken place since 1925 when the average acreage per farm was 145.1. This increase between 1925 and 1930 was shared by all regions except the South Atlantic, and by 40 of the 48 states. Seven of the eight states that showed a declining average were in the southern region. All types of farmers, owners, tenants and managers were also operating larger farms in 1930 than in either 1920 or 1925, as Table 19 shows.

TABLE 19.—AVERAGE ACREAGE PER FARM BY DIVISION AND BY TYPE OF OPERATOR

Census division	1920	1925	1930
United States	148.2	145.1	156.9
New England	108.5	99.4	114.3
Middle Atlantic	95.4	89.5	98.0
East North Central	108.5	107.2	114.7
West North Central	234.3	223.2	238.6
South Atlantic	84.4	79.9	81.6
East South Central	75.0	70.2	68.6
West South Central	174.1	162.2	166.7
Mountain	480.7	564.2	652.5
Pacific	239.8	204.3	231.2
Type			
Owner	162.2	159.3	173.3
Tenant	107.9	107.6	115.0
Manager	790.8	1,058.9	1,109.1

Source: *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*, Vol. V, Table 12, p. 87.
Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, "Agriculture, Summary for the United States, 1929 and 1930," Table 3, p. 24 and Table 7, p. 30.

Thus, although the number of farms declined 2.5 percent between 1920 and 1930, as already noted, the acreage in farms increased from

955.8 million acres in 1920 and 924.3 in 1925 to 986.7 in 1930. Similarly the total acreage of crop land harvested increased from 344.5 to 359.2 million acres between 1924 and 1929.

These increases were not uniform. Total acreage in crops declined in all the New England and Middle Atlantic states, and in all the South Atlantic and East North Central except Georgia and Wisconsin. The substantial increase has therefore been west of the Mississippi River. Thus, despite the depression and the surplus existing in some crops, the embryonic recovery of agriculture already alluded to resulted in an expansion of operations. This tendency is in line with the historic answer of the farmer to hard times—namely to produce more. At present it is possible that this expansion in acreage may continue for a few years if the urban-rural trend in population continues.

Dealing with general averages, even within census divisions, obscures significant trends as to the size of farms and the shift in farm management. Agriculture is a complex aggregate that varies according to crop, climate, soil, region and even race. Conditions among the fruit growers of the Pacific Coast on their small but highly cultivated holdings vary sharply from those of the western wheat growers with their hundreds and even thousands of acres. The market gardener and the general farmer of the Middle Atlantic states, the dairyman, and the cotton grower face different situations. It is important therefore to pursue this inquiry further.

When this is done it becomes clear that American agriculture is tending to smaller, as well as to larger, farms. The proportion of farms under 100 acres which was 57.4 percent of all farms in 1900 was 59.4 percent in 1930. Practically all of this increase however occurred in the last decade and was in the farms of under twenty acres. This group comprised 12.3 percent of all farms in 1920, but 14.6 percent in 1930. These smaller farms are located near the towns and cities of all regions. Many of them are operated by farmers with other occupations. This fact lends interest to the analysis in a later chapter showing conclusively the relationship between type of agriculture, size of farm, and distance from the city.

These small farms, especially if they increase, are a real responsibility of the Agricultural Department and the Agricultural Extension Service.

Part-time Farming Gaining.—The small farm is interesting too, in that so often it represents an effort to retain a connection with the soil and yet raise the standard of living through non-agricultural employment. Part-time employment has also increased, in part because of the agricultural depression, and thus represents an effort to solve the problems that have arisen with the last decade. There seems to be a correlation between the type of farming and rurality and the proportion of farmers engaged in part-time non-agricultural employment. Thus in Ohio only 8 percent of the heads of farm families were so supplementing their income in the most rural of a group of areas studied, while in the most industrial-

ized areas 27 percent were employed in part-time occupations.[1] In a central New York village 17.8 percent of the open-country males were employed in other than agricultural pursuits.[2] In the Middle West, on the other hand, except near fairly large cities and along main highways, little of this tendency was discovered during the resurvey of the 140 villages that were initially studied by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. As in the Ohio study, these two factors increased part-time employment in every region; but it was far more generally found in the other three regions than in the Middle West. In one citrus fruit community, 55 percent of the growers had secured extra employment to eke out their income.[3] In the main, field-worker estimates of the proportion of farmers otherwise employed part of the time ranged from one-sixth to one-fourth outside the Middle West. This was reported locally almost everywhere to be a new trend.

The sources of such employment were varied. Many farm homes had put up "Tourists Accommodated" signs. Others had opened roadside markets, gas stations or eating places. Others drove school buses, hauled milk for their neighborhoods, operated city or town milk routes, ran saw mills, did road work. A number, as in the past, were preachers, some of whom supplanted ordained clergymen the church could not afford to keep. A few took summer boarders. In some of the New England states, supplementary work has grown to such an extent that it has become the more important source of income for many farmers who might be better characterized as part-time farmers than as farmers doing part-time work.

As agriculture is at present organized, this trend cannot expand without limit; but all the evidence gathered in the field surveys of this and other studies would seem to indicate that there is likely to be further development of outside sources of income for the farmers of many areas.

Just as the proportion of small farms has increased, so the proportion of farms of 500 or more acres rose from 2.6 to 3.8 percent of all farms between 1900 and 1930, and stood at 3.3 percent in 1920. Between 1920 and 1930 the number of such farms increased from 217.2 to 240.3 thousand, and the acreage grew from 33.6 to 39.0 percent of the total farm acreage of the country.

Large Scale Farming.—Conversely the proportion of farms of between 20 and 99 acres has held steady thus far in this century at about 45 percent of the total; but farms of from 100 to 499 acres have declined from 40 to 36.8 percent of all farms.

[1] Lively and Beck, *Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio* (Columbus; Experiment Station, College of Agriculture, Ohio State University, 1930), Bulletin 467.

[2] Melvin and Kensler, *A Partial Sociological Study of Dryden, New York* (Ithaca; New York College of Agriculture, Cornell University, 1930).

[3] No definite comparisons can be given for the 140 villages studied, since no data was given on this point in the 1924 survey.

The growth of the large farm raises the interesting question of the future of this sort of unit, especially under corporation management. The only clue offered by the census to the growth in corporation farming is in the data on the number of farms operated by managers. There were 68,449 such farms in 1920; 40,700 in 1925; and 55,889 in 1930, or less than 1 percent of all farms, and controlling less than 1 percent of the total acreage.

Large-scale farming was an acute issue in several of the 140 villages. In one wheat growing community the town business men who had unexpectedly become farm-owners through foreclosure were combining and mechanizing. Per acre wheat yields had been doubled and costs halved to less than 50 cents an acre. The other farmers claimed that large-scale farming was forcing them out of business.

In a corn-belt community there was far more concern over large-scale farming than over the chain store; and the attitude toward it was one of extreme disfavor on the part of both villagers and farmers. In this community a corporation was operating a unit of 2,400 acres, one-tenth of its total holding, made up of foreclosed farms of between 160 and 320 acres. The local paper thus described its methods:

> Each tract in the group is operated as a single field and is planted to a single crop in a rotation program. In the working of its present holdings, the Company employs seventy-five general purpose tractors, nineteen combined harvesters and threshers, fifteen two row harvesters, seventy-five plows, forty grain drills, and associated equipment. This machinery is transported over a hard surfaced state road system by means of ten motor trucks with semi-trailers capable of hauling three tractors to a load. Field machinery is entirely equipped with electric lighting system to permit twenty-four hour operation when necessary.

This company uses no livestock, has removed boundary fences, groves, and often the buildings from its holdings, and employs only unmarried men. Village hardware and implement dealers and repairmen feared the ruin of their business.

On the other hand, one of the oldest corporation farms in the United States, located near one of the twenty-one counties, has found it profitable, after years of experimentation, to employ only married men and to make both the conditions of operation and of living as similar to those of normal farming as possible.

It should be emphasized that the trend toward large-scale farming is not necessarily a trend toward corporation farming. Even assuming that all farms operated by managers were corporation farms, and according to the best estimates only about one-third are, the acreage controlled would amount to less than 3 percent of the acreage in all farms of 1,000 acres and over. It is quite possible for family farms to operate from 2,000 to 6,000 acres, depending on the amount of machinery, as studies by the Kansas College of Agriculture show. Production costs have been cut from

25 to 50 percent under those of the quarter-section to half-section farm.

But large-scale farming, whether on the corporation or family basis, does not always succeed. Two corporation farms of over 1,000 acres had failed in the communities studied. Several others of the largest and best known of the large-scale farms have met similar difficulties within the recent past. In the South especially the small-farm owner was often better off than the plantation owner. Two western village communities presented an interesting contrast. Both were wheat-growing centers. In one the average size of the farms was 1,000 acres, in the other 300. In the latter there was more ownership, less capital tied up in machinery, and greater stability of population. The bankers felt that the latter community was having a bit the better of it.

In a mid-western county the banker reported that the owners of the smaller farms were breaking even or better, but that the owners of large acreages were borrowing because, in part, of over-expansion. Large-scale farming requires a heavy capital expenditure in machinery and the learning of new techniques. Corporation farming, in addition, introduces questions of industrial relations and other social problems. The increase in large-scale farming will doubtless continue, but probably not at the rate prophesied by some of its urban proponents. As a way out of the present difficulties of American agriculture it is not a panacea.

These facts mean several things. In the first place, there appears to be a growing specialization in agriculture, as will be further apparent in Chap. V. Small farms call for intensive cultivation of truck or fruit products. The very large farm is used for those crops that can be cultivated and harvested by machine. The old type of general farm is in many areas decreasing in number and importance, though it is hardly likely that it will disappear in any predictable future. There is then a real possibility that the future will see three types of farms, the large, mechanized, the real small farm whose operator may have a supplemental source of income, and the farm of medium size. This follows the analogy of industry. Only about 1,000 industries in 1927 had more than 1,000 employees. About 300,000 employed fewer than 60 persons.[1]

Diversification.—Specialization, with its consequent change in the size of farms, is only one answer by the farmers to the problems of the present situation. Another is diversification. Some interesting examples of this and of what it did for communities were found in the field survey. In one far-western village in the wheat growing country, two bankers bought farms and planted alfalfa with great success. Now 9,000 acres in this community are planted to this crop. The per acre yield of wheat has increased so that the same quantity is being raised on the smaller acreage.

[1] *Recent Economic Changes in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1929), Volume I, chapter ii.

The alfalfa has been responsible for increased dairying, and a creamery has been erected. The experiment has also greatly improved village and country relations.

In another community in the same region, diversification is credited with ending forced sales of farms, reducing debts and tenancy, and furnishing a source of income to villagers during the rush season. The same situation was reported from a North Carolina community. In the South, however, progress has been slower. Less than one-fifth of the localities studied had made any appreciable progress in diversification since the former survey. Time after time field workers were told, "The Lord meant this country to grow cotton and that's what it's done for 300 years. Why should we change?"

It was apparent also that diversification, in whatever region found, had done most for individuals and communities where neighboring centers had followed their usual routine. The growth of cities was noticeably an aid to diversification within their trade areas, as is shown in Chapter V; but obviously wholesale diversification would create new problems.

The Rise of Coöperative Buying and Selling.—But beyond changes in farm management, the farmer has attempted to solve his problems by other means, notably coöperation.

Through coöperation, the farmer has sought to secure some of the middleman's profit for himself, to reduce marketing costs, to control the flow of non-perishable products to market and thus avoid dumping, to create new markets for certain products both by research and by advertising, and to improve standards of production. Brand names have been adopted and products reaching market have been properly graded, thus protecting the consumer. In short, associated groups of farmers have sought the advantage of corporation methods through their coöperation.

The rapid rise to a position of power of the movement for the coöperative marketing of agricultural products has been one of the most pronounced trends affecting rural America in the last fifteen years. It has been a rise, not without its dramatic aspects, especially when the individualistic character of the American farmer, in whose veins flows the blood of the pioneer, is considered. Since 1915 the number of coöperative associations has more than doubled; the dollar volume of business has nearly quadrupled; the gain in membership has been nearly five-fold according to the Division of Coöperative Marketing of the Federal Farm Board which summarizes the growth of the movement as follows:

Year	No. of Associations	Volume of Business	Memberships*
1915	5,424	$ 635,839,000	651,186
1925	10,803	2,400,000,000	2,700,000
1930	12,000	2,500,000,000	3,100,000
1931	11,950	2,400,000,000	3,000,000
1932	11,900	1,925,300,000	3,200,000

* Gross figures. It is generally thought that, correcting for duplications, about 2,000,000 are members of cooperatives.

Mr. Metzger, Assistant Chief of the Division of Coöperative Marketing of the Federal Farm Bureau, said in a radio address recently that despite extremely low prices the volume of commodities handled, computed on the basis of 1927–28 prices, showed a gain of 41 percent during the last three years. The most important progress during these three years, Mr. Metzger said, has been in the centralization in the regional and national coöperatives of sales activities of the local associations.[1]

This growth has not been without great opposition. The coöperative movement has been fought in the courts. It has been attacked as likely to increase the cost of living, and as seriously interfering with legitimate private enterprise. A dozen years ago powerful business publications and the news letters of some of America's largest banks were levelling editorial broadsides against the movement; nor were farmers themselves convinced of its efficacy. Today some of these same publications are proclaiming coöperation as the panacea for the ills of agriculture, and are chiding the farmer for his too tardy acceptance of the principle.

On the other hand, state and federal courts have adopted a liberal attitude toward this type of organization, and have held constitutional the various features of the laws designed to make the coöperatives effective.

Congress, like the states, has shown a benevolent attitude. These coöperatives have been exempted from federal anti-trust laws and the federal income tax. In 1926 and 1929 Congress set up machinery to aid in their development and expansion. And loans were made available to them through governmental agencies in 1921, 1924 and 1929.

These efforts of legislatures have been consistent in their endeavor to stabilize production and marketing, to eliminate waste, to increase credit resources, and to promote educational programs. This benevolent attitude presages further legislative assistance in the advancement of the agricultural coöperative movement.[2]

Today the movement has also the support of Government through several agencies, not the least of which is the Federal Farm Board which is specifically directed by law to promote and assist the coöperative marketing of farm products. The growth of the movement has not been without its setbacks and even failures of important commodity organizations; but, in the main, the trend has been upward. The development is a most interesting illustration of the speed with which social thinking can sometimes change on an important issue.

[1] *The United States Daily*, Washington, D. C., May 24, 1932.

[2] *Cf. Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York; McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), Chapter by Clark and Douglas, on "Law and Legal Institutions"; Hanna, *The Law of Coöperative Marketing Associations* (1931); Hamilton, "Judicial Tolerance of Farmers Coöperatives" *38 Yale Law Journal*, (New Haven; Yale Law Journal Publ. Co., 1929), #936.

These figures quoted appear to indicate that the farm coöperatives have been fairly stable during the trying economic period of 1925–31, and that they actually grew during the early years of the depression. The small decline in the dollar value of products handled probably indicates an increased volume of business in 1931, in view of the much more drastic reduction in commodity prices.

Apparently about a third of the farmers of the United States are members of at least one coöperative, and this ratio has been held for the last six years. These farmers, however, appear to be a selected group. Membership, according to several studies and to reports of field workers for this survey, seems to be positively correlated with farm-ownership, size of farm, and amount of education. There are some indications also that coöperators are wealthier than non-coöperators; that they belong to more organizations like churches, farm bureaus and lodges; and that they have a higher standard of living, as indicated by the cost of family living and the amount of equipment and conveniences.[1] These facts in themselves suggest some of the obstacles the coöperative must overcome to progress further. Numerous studies seem to show that the anti-coöperation attitudes of many farmers grow out of ignorance concerning what coöperation is and impatience with any mistake, coupled with the failure on the part of some of the coöperatives to consider the sociological aspects of their problem and to use their locals as social as well as economic groups.[2] Further, where large commodity coöperatives have failed, the farmer is skeptical of the benefits of coöperation.

The fortunes of the coöperative marketing movement in the 140 agricultural villages, field surveys of which in 1924 and again in 1930 form the basis for much of this study of rural social change, indicate how the coöperative movement has fared and throw light on some elements of the situation obscured by the national figures on the movement as a whole.

Briefly, slightly fewer of these villages had coöperatives in 1930 than in 1924, 114 as against 120. There had also been a net loss of 30 coöperatives between these two dates from the 1924 total of 263. But against this decline of 11.4 percent in the number of coöperatives, there was a gain of 23.7 percent in the total membership. The loss in number was confined almost exclusively to the South and the Far West, or to corn

[1] *Cf.* Manny, *Some Ohio Trends in Membership Relations, Some Social Factors in Membership Relations* (United States Department of Agriculture, 1930 and 1929); and Howell, *The Relation of Economic, Social and Educational Advancement of Farmers to Their Membership in Organizations* [*i.e.* Cotton Growers Associations] (Stillwater; Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1929).

[2] These observations are based on field-work reports and newspaper clippings secured in a number of the 140 villages where the survey was fortunate enough to be in process during the annual meeting or annual membership drive of a local coöperative or its overhead organization.

and winter wheat, cotton, Rocky Mountain and North and South Pacific areas.

Coöperatives devoted exclusively to selling products held their own; and buying coöperatives declined slightly; but those that both bought and sold dropped from 76 to 52 in number. Even this group maintained its 1924 membership level. The trend in the coöperative movement in these communities has therefore been toward fewer but larger organizations. This was true in every region, and with no appreciable variation according to the size of the village.

TABLE 20.—FARMERS' COÖPERATIVES, NUMBER AND KIND, BY CROP AREA AND BY REGION,—140 AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

Crop area and region	Number of village communities			Number of coöperatives							
	Total	Having coöperatives		Total		Buy only		Sell only		Buy and sell	
		1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All crop areas	140	120	114	263	233	47	40	140	141	76	52
Hay and pasture	38	31	32	61	65	15	20	33	37	13	8
Corn	31	28	26	57	51	11	13	23	23	23	15
Corn and winter wheat	19	18	15	34	22	12	4	8	6	14	12
Cotton	23	17	16	33	26	5	0	17	16	11	10
Spring wheat	5	4	4	12	14	1	1	8	13	3	0
Great plains	4	3	4	7	8	0	0	4	6	3	2
Rocky Mountain and Inter-mountain Plateau	6	5	6	16	13	0	0	15	12	1	1
North Pacific	5	5	3	11	6	2	1	7	3	2	2
South Pacific	9	9	8	32	28	1	1	25	25	6	2
Region											
Middle Atlantic	28	22	23	41	39	15	18	19	19	7	2
South	30	23	19	44	33	7	0	22	21	15	12
Middle West	60	54	53	114	110	22	20	50	59	42	31
Far West	22	21	19	64	51	3	2	49	42	12	7

Many of the coöperatives that purchased supplies and goods for resale to members had greatly increased their business. Typical of these was a concern called Farmers, Incorporated, in a medium-sized Virginia village. Half of the 500 farmers in the community belong to this organization. In the intersurvey period, 1924–30, the business increased about 50 percent to a total of nearly $170,000 annually. In the twelve years since its founding, the dividends to member-stockholders had equalled the investment of members in the stock.

One other interesting trend was observable, the lessened reliance upon an iron-clad contract as a means of binding members to the organization. This device was employed by 60 percent of the selling coöperatives in 1924, but by only 46 percent in 1930. It had proved a serious source of difficulty, especially where the coöperative placed reliance solely upon the contract to keep the farmer loyal to it.

TABLE 21.—PATRONS AND NUMBER UNDER CONTRACT BY TYPE OF FARMERS' COÖPERATIVE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	1924					1930				
	Number of coöperatives	Patrons		Under contract		Number of coöperatives	Patrons		Under contract	
		Coöp. reporting	Number	Coöp. reporting	Number		Coöp. reporting	Number	Coöp. reporting	Number
	Coöperatives buying									
Total	47	22	3,318	27	2	40	24	7,354	31	1
Middle Atlantic	15	10	1,318	11	1	18	6	1,232	12	0
South	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Middle West	22	10	1,815	13	0	20	16	6,099	17	0
Far West	3	2	185	3	1	2	2	23	2	1
	Coöperatives selling									
Total	140	118	17,396	110	66	141	112	21,200	124	58
Middle Atlantic	19	15	1,684	14	10	19	12	1,159	18	16
South	22	15	2,273	16	15	21	16	1,422	20	13
Middle West	50	42	8,834	39	4	59	51	12,142	56	5
Far West	49	46	4,605	41	37	42	33	6,477	30	24
	Coöperatives buying and selling									
Total	76	68	11,901	63	6	52	43	11,786	45	12
Middle Atlantic	7	6	796	5	0	2	2	225	2	0
South	15	14	2,220	7	3	12	10	1,265	10	6
Middle West	42	39	7,878	41	1	31	26	8,841	27	2
Far West	12	9	1,007	10	2	7	5	1.455	6	4

Tables 20 and 21, which detail these facts, also show that all regions lag behind the Far West in the development of coöperative marketing of farm products and supplies. The average far-western villages have three such organizations, twice the average of the Middle Atlantic and southern villages. The Middle West has two per village. This may be in part a reflection of the greater diversity of crops in the Far West. The tables reveal also that the coöperative that purchases only, is confined almost

exclusively to the Middle Atlantic and Middle West regions. In these and other particulars, there has been little or no change since 1924.[1]

Conflict within local communities between coöperators and non-coöperators had notably decreased in bitterness. No longer, as in 1924, did it affect church, civic and neighborhood relationships even where present. The conflict between coöperatives and competing concerns had not, however, greatly relaxed. Thus in one village a metropolitan milk distributor paid its patrons Grade A prices for milk, but, except for a few months during the year, shipped only Grade B milk from its plant in this community. This was done to hamper the regional dairymen's coöperative which also had a plant in this village.

Such competition in another state was forcing the coöperative to redeem the certificates of indebtedness issued to its patrons in preferred stock in a holding company it had formed to take over its local plant. On the other hand, several coöperatives had been able to buy privately-owned competing plants for from one-fifth to one-half their original cost.

In some communities coöperative marketing gained owing to the closing of elevators or creameries by corporations on account of over-production. This was especially hard on dairy farmers who, of course, could not shut down the production of their cows. Several hastily organized coöperatives were the result of such events.

Legislative Trends in Relation to Agriculture.—But while the farmer has been changing farm-management procedures, seeking outside sources of income, buying and selling through coöperative organizations, and in other ways seeking a way out of his post-war difficulties, he has not neglected legislative means. In the decade of 1910–1920 three important acts were passed to enable farmers to secure loans at more favorable rates of interest through federally sponsored agencies. Of these the Intermediate Credit Banks accommodated chiefly the coöperatives.

There was also the Smith-Lever bill establishing, and other bills enlarging, the agricultural extension service. The Smith-Hughes bill provided for federal assistance in teaching agriculture and domestic science in rural high schools as vocational subjects. The Purnell bill, passed in 1923, was important from the point of view of rural social life because it made federal funds available to the state colleges of agriculture for research in agricultural economics, rural sociology and home economics.

The great legislative effort of the farmers, however, was the effort to secure the passage of the McNary-Haugen bill, providing an equalization fee on exported farm products which its advocates declared "would do for American agriculture what the tariff had done for industry."

[1] *Cf.* Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927) pp. 112–119, for a discussion of the coöperative marketing situation in the 140 village communities in 1924.

In the final passage of this bill, party lines were abandoned. West of the Mississippi River the only votes against the bill in the House of Representatives were cast by congressmen from the cities. Among the representatives east of the Mississippi and north of the Mason-Dixon line the only votes for the bill were by congressmen from the rural constituencies. This held true even of the delegation from as urban and industrial a state as Pennsylvania.

Though defeated in this effort by a Presidential veto, the farm group was strong enough to secure the formation of the Federal Farm Board with a capital of a half billion dollars. This board has stimulated the organization of coöperatives, has loaned such agencies money, and by open market purchases has sought to sustain the price of wheat and cotton. Farm support is at this writing actively behind a bill directing the Federal Reserve System to use every means in its power by controlled inflation to restore the 1926 price level.

The economic aspects of country life here sketched are of social importance. In colonial times, farming was only a mode of living. It became an economic pursuit, commercialized and dependent on world economic forces. The operation of these forces has subjected the farmer to increasing economic disadvantage as compared with other producing classes; but to these forces he has not bowed without resistance. The process has brought a renewed realization of the values of agriculture as a way of life, and a reorganization and readjustment of the farmer's social life, as will be described in the following sections.

SOCIAL LIFE AND ORGANIZATION

Just as agriculture has been the chief concern of country people and has given them a degree of occupational unity, so their manner of living out on individual farms has given them their own social life and organization. In fact, agriculture is the only large industrial undertaking that has its working units centered about the homes of its workers. The farmer and his family live in the midst of their enterprise. Ways of living have been greatly influenced by this relationship. Farm life, however, has not been entirely individualistic nor confined to the farmstead, as some have argued. Families settled in groups and set up their own forms of social or neighborhood life. They built their own social institutions, usually beginning with school, church and some sort of informal sociability or mutual-aid organization. Changes have taken place in these as well as in the other forms of social life.

Changes in Ways of Farm Family Living.—Only very brief references to a few changes in the ways of living in the country will be made here. Separate chapters in *Recent Social Trends in the United States* have dealt with this subject.

One of the most, if not the most, significant trends of the past decade has been the increased recognition and attention given to the family-living aspects of rural life. Farming, in some regions at least, has come to be recognized as a mode of life as well as a means of livelihood. Questions of the household have therefore come to have added importance along with those of the farmstead.

Their importance was given most striking recognition in the thirteenth annual meeting of the American Country Life Association in 1930, the topic being "Rural Standards of Living." In its meeting, two years previously, this organization advanced the same theme to a place of public attention by the publication of a symposium "Farm Income and Farm Life."[1] Statesmen, agricultural experts, and farm organization leaders are now urging the importance of family-living in an agrarian policy. They are not in agreement regarding the best ways and means for accomplishing the desired end, but the emphasis is an important development of the past five or more years.

Attention to Living Takes Many Forms.—The emphasis is being carried forward in many different ways. For example, conferences of farm people and extension workers are called to consider the place that standards of living must have in a plan or program for agriculture both from the community and the family points of view. Such conferences, one summarized report says, "represent a practical and constructive effort on the part of those participating to study their own problems on a business basis of providing sufficient income to meet the standards of living requirements deemed essential by the family."[2]

Some economists and land specialists are coming to recognize a special relation which a standard of living bears to conditions in marginal or submarginal land areas. If families are permitted to live at too low levels, public problems soon present themselves in such matters as education, poor relief, delinquency and the maintenance of health and sanitation.

Emphasis on Family Living Given Expression.—The emphasis is likewise given various other forms of expression. An analysis of topics and space given by the agricultural press and by rural women's magazines shows a definite trend in the direction of greater attention to farm life and its improvement. Agricultural extension workers are writing and talking more about it, although there has evidently not been sufficient time for this to be reflected in the expenditure of state and federal funds for the purpose, a fact indicated by the relatively unchanged proportions of funds going to the various extension enterprises, as shown in Chap. VII.

[1] University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1927.

[2] *Report of Codington County Farm and Home Economics Conference,* (Watertown, South Dakota, 1930).

Perhaps as striking a statement of the emphasis as can easily be found is contained in a discussion of "success" in farming by two English economists.

> But ultimately there is no general success which is not measurable in human values, and most of the success in farming can eventually be measured by the standard of living obtainable and enjoyed by the family. This is not a plea for ostentation, for real standards of living are not to be measured by outside show . . .
>
> Although the possibilities of the standard of living for individual families over the whole group are largely determined by the common standard of living, this imposes the general limitations on the competition for the requirements of production, especially land and labor, but it has also a great influence on the conditions under which capital is accumulated or obtained. Thus the individual who is willing to sacrifice the accepted standard of living in the competition for either is a danger to his neighbor.[1]

Many Studies of Rural Family Living.—Studies of certain aspects of standards of living of farm and village families, especially of costs of living, have been made by many institutions and agencies, including particularly the Federal Department of Agriculture and state colleges of agriculture. Before January 1, 1926, twenty-two such research projects had been completed by educational and governmental institutions. For the year closing June 30, 1927, there were fourteen studies actually in progress. Since that time their popularity has continued and many new aspects, such as studies of the uses of time, have been added.[2]

While few of these studies have actually attempted to measure trends over time, certain tendencies appear and may be mentioned here. For instance, in a year-by-year study covering receipts and expenditures of a small group of the same farm families in Ohio, it was shown that cash receipts from the farm products varied more than did expenditures for the family living. The expenditures for food varied least, and those for health and house furnishings most.[3] Much the same tendency was found in a study of 900 farm families representing the six major farm-type areas of Wisconsin. About 30 percent of them did not balance their budgets during the year of study, 1930; but they did not vary their standards of living significantly from those families who did make their receipts equal or exceed their expenses. Nor did those families with the

[1] Ashby, A. W. and Howell, J. P., "Success in Farming; Its Nature and Determination," *Journal of the Surveyor's Institution, 1926*. Reprinted in "Rural Standards of Living, a Selected Bibliography," *Agricultural Economics Bibliography*, No. 32, August, 1930 (mimeographed, U. S. Department of Agriculture).

[2] See Kirkpatrick, E. L., *The Farmer's Standard of Living* (New York; Century Company, 1929) for a rather complete summary of the findings of many of the detailed studies.

[3] Lively, C. E., "Family Living Expenditures in Ohio Farms," *Bulletin 468* (Columbus; Ohio Agricultural Experiment Stations, November, 1930).

higher incomes expand their living expenditures in anything like equal proportions.[1]

The conclusion seems inevitable that family living changes at a different tempo and because of different causal factors than does income. This need not mean that income and expenditures are unrelated. They are related: an analysis in the same state of farm incomes and various home conveniences such as electric lights and running water in kitchens, show high correlations. It does mean, however, that changes in ways of family living follow different curves, at least short-time curves, than do those of farm income. The present struggle to maintain standards in a period of decreasing buying power and of declining prices has many serious consequences. The evidences are to be found in increases in mortgaged indebtedness; and as one popular writer has well said, "farm folks are eating their fences, their barns and their houses." He means, of course, that what incomes are available are going toward the family living rather that toward the usual repairs about the farmstead.

Another research report concludes with much the same idea, although made at a time when the stress was less keenly felt than in 1932. It is based on a comparative study of 226 Minnesota farm families and 252 city families during the summer of 1928.

> Primary competition is between the investments centered around land ownership, its rights and privileges and the increased consumption of material goods of the present . . . Any attempts on the part of farm leaders to secure greater consumption of incomes for present use to the detriment of savings and investments are in violation of the historical attitudes of the farm class.[2]

Nevertheless, in the same bulletin is reported the tendency of farm families to make increasingly rapid adjustments to the demands of changing general standards, as shown by the sharp increase in expenditures for automobiles, telephones, music, radios, and urban newspapers. So it is evident that ways of living do persist or do change despite traditional barriers and income handicaps.

Increases in Household Conveniences.—It was interesting to find how many times the ways or standards of family living were measured by those items just mentioned, and other household conveniences of like character. In field notes of those studying the 140 village communities, again and again improvements in farm and village living were recorded in terms of more automobiles, radios, running water in house, and access to the electric high line and the lights, power and accessories which it made possible.

These records were impressive. For example, an Arkansas village community had 70 electric ranges in 1930 as against none in 1925. The

[1] Kirkpatrick, McNall and Cowles, "Farm Family Living in Wisconsin," *Research Bulletin* (Madison; Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, 1933).

[2] Zimmerman, C. C., "Incomes and Expenditures of Minnesota Farm and City Families," *Bulletin No. 255* (St. Paul: University of Minnesota, 1929).

number of electric refrigerators increased from 2 to 150 in the same period; and the consumption of electric current amounted to $4,000 in January, 1930, as against $1,800 in January, 1925, despite a one-third reduction in rates.

The 1930 census for agriculture makes a comparison over the decade for many of these items of convenience. Although the automobile perhaps cannot class as a household convenience, it certainly can as a family convenience. Its influence in modern life is traced in another study.[1] Of special significance is the conclusion drawn from this study to the effect that, although long trips are taken by a larger proportion of the population, yet contacts within local areas have likewise multiplied, even out of proportion to those at a distance. For example, in a survey in five states it was discovered that from one-third to one-half of all the automobiles checked en route were on trips of less than twenty miles. This is of importance not only from the point of view of the family itself, but also for those social and group activities in which it participates with other local families.

The census story for the increase in percent of all farms reporting automobiles is found in Table 22.

TABLE 22.—AUTOMOBILES ON FARMS, BY DIVISION

Census division	Number		Percent	
	1920	1930	1920	1930
All divisions	1,979,564	3,650,003	30.7	58.0
New England	40,269	75,566	25.7	60.5
Middle Atlantic	149,599	254,084	35.2	71.1
East North Central	513,052	770,108	47.3	79.7
West North Central	631,631	920,814	57.6	82.8
South Atlantic	187,236	445,454	16.2	42.1
East South Central	81,830	320,640	7.8	30.2
West South Central	173,609	503,548	17.4	45.6
Mountain	91,698	163,303	37.6	67.7
Pacific	110,640	196,486	47.2	75.1

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, "Agriculture. Summary for the United States, 1929–1930, Table 23, p. 54.

The percentage increase was from 30.7 to 58.0 for all farms, nearly a doubling in the ten-year period. The trend was fairly constant from one division to another, although the East South Central had gained most but started with the lowest percentage.

Probably the item of convenience most frequently mentioned by field notes, and the one that seemed to have greatest importance, was the use of electricity. Here again the census reports a real gain. Table 23

[1] Willey and Rice, *Communication Agencies and Social Life* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933).

shows that the percentage of farm dwellings lighted by electricity in 1930 was 13.4 percent as compared with 7.0 percent in 1920. The 1920 figure includes farms with gas as well as electricity. The 1930 census enumerates only farms using electricity. The gain in this respect, therefore, is even greater than is shown by the table.

TABLE 23.—DWELLINGS ON FARMS LIGHTED BY ELECTRICITY, BY DIVISION

Census division	Dwellings on farms lighted by electricity			
	Number		Percent	
	1920	1930	1920	1930
All divisions	452,620	841,310	7.0	13.4
New England	24,000	53,655	15.3	42.9
Middle Atlantic	60,102	114,098	14.1	31.9
East North Central	113,871	202,656	10.5	21.0
West North Central	97,847	146,969	8.9	13.2
South Atlantic	45,407	64,173	3.9	6.1
East South Central	21,720	31,952	2.1	3.0
West South Central	19,352	40,240	1.9	3.6
Mountain	25,161	49,173	10.3	20.4
Pacific	45,160	138,394	19.3	52.9

Source: See Table 22.

The divisional variations are considerably more marked than in the case of the automobile, not only in the proportion of farms reporting the use of electricity, but in the changes in the decade as well.

The Committee on the Relation of Electricity to Agriculture in its report dated June, 1931, points out that on January 1, 1924, 2.6 percent of all farms had high line service, while on the same date in 1931 there were in excess of 10 percent with such service.[1]

But more significant than the distribution, or the general increase in the service, is the record report for the year 1930. Despite depression and drought, electric service was extended to some 90,000 additional farms, the greatest annual increase on record. It represents 10.7 percent of all the farms reporting the use of electricity in their dwellings in 1930. It is another evidence that ways of living do persist, or do change, despite the most severe of handicaps. Even in 1932 the same committee reports that up to October 1st there was a net increase of over 8,100 in the number of farms using high line electric service.[2]

The same story is told in the various state reports, and they give more vivid details. For example, the Pennsylvania Joint Committee on

[1] "Report on Farm Electrification Research," *Bulletin Vol. VI, No. 1* (Chicago: Committee on Relation of Electricity to Agriculture, 1931).

[2] Letter to the authors.

Rural Electrification reports as of January, 1931, that 6,010 miles of rural line have been built in the state during the preceding four years, or at the rate of 1,502 miles per year, 5 miles for each working day. On the rural lines, customers have been added at the rate of 57 per working day. There are now 140,000 customers on such lines, of which 36,000 are farm customers. The investments of the companies of this state in the rural lines is approximately twenty million dollars.[1]

The use of the radio was probably second in popularity in the ranking of the changes taking place in country ways of living as reported by those visiting the 140 communities. Of this popularity of the radio, there can be little question. In a mail canvass of a sample of their readers, *The Woman's World*, of Chicago, for example, found that over 50 percent of the 3,272 women replying listened frequently to morning programs. Women living on farms and those in villages under 1,000 or from 1,000 to 2,500 population, and those in towns and cities of greater size, showed but slight differences. The farm women reported 47.4 percent; women in villages of less than 1,000, 54.8 percent; women in villages from 1,000 to 2,500, 55.1 percent; women in towns and cities of 2,500 to 5,000, 53.8 percent; in cities of 5,000 to 10,000, 57.2 percent; in cities of 10,000 to 25,000, 51.6 percent; and in cities of over 25,000, 51.0 percent. Nor was there doubt concerning the kind of morning programs preferred. Good music topped the list in 74 percent of the cases. When "lively orchestra," "classical," "instrumental," hymns and songs were added, the percentage interested in music rose to 88 percent.[2]

Finally, there is the convenience of water piped into the farm dwelling. The census tells of an increase from 10.0 percent of all farms in 1920 to 15.8 percent in 1930. The increases in the different census divisions were fairly regular, though in the southern divisions the percentages are very low indeed. New England and the Pacific Coast states report well over 50 percent of the farm dwellings with this convenience. Table 24 gives the actual figures in number and in percent.

Uses of Time.—The question now presents itself regarding the uses to which the time released by the various conveniences and labor-saving devices is put. Is there more time for leisure, reading, or social activity? One of the interesting developments of the last few years has been the number of studies regarding the uses of time by farm women and men. An analysis of the reports of six such studies concerning the uses of time by farm women, although made under widely different conditions and in different areas, do show some surprisingly uniform results. For instance, most of the reports indicate the average length of the working week to be

[1] Report in Personal Letters from John M. McKee, Harrisburg, Executive Secretary for Pennsylvania Joint Committee on Rural Electrification.

[2] *Cf.* Willey and Rice, *Communication Agencies and Social Life* (New York; McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933) Part III.

between 61 and 66 hours. Most of the reports also affirm that increased conveniences do not decrease the length of the working day so as to provide more time for reading, for participation in social organizations,

TABLE 24.—WATER PIPED INTO FARM HOMES, BY DIVISION

Census division	Farm homes with piped water			
	Number		Percent	
	1920	1930	1920	1930
All divisions	643,899	994,202	10.0	15.8
New England	74,954	79,815	47.9	63.9
Middle Atlantic	98,936	135,699	23.3	37.9
East North Central	134,877	211,272	12.4	21.9
West North Central	107,015	180,402	9.8	16.2
South Atlantic	38,775	66,763	3.3	6.3
East South Central	15,999	27,171	1.5	2.6
West South Central	49,191	88,376	4.9	8.0
Mountain	26,343	48,324	10.8	20.0
Pacific	97,809	156,380	41.8	59.7

Source: See Table 22.

or for leisure-time activity. Instead they seem merely to free time for other work or themselves lead to more work, as more laundry, keeping the house cleaner, and so on.[1]

Similarly it has been pointed out by farm-management accounting records that the mechanization of farms has enabled farmers to save time, but that the time saved has been used for increased production rather than leisure. According to statements by the farmers themselves, the reason for this has been the desire to acquire greater incomes. The farmers with tractors work longer days on the average than the farmers without tractors.[2]

Perhaps this result is a case of culture-lag, the hang-over of the work pattern. Perhaps the traditional idea of incessant work makes many of the farm women actually create work, so that greater cleanliness or additional tasks facilitated by the modern conveniences are the main result of their adoption. However this may be, it is certainly true that both farm men and farm women, as well as their children, do take time

[1] A good representative study in this group is Wilson, Maud, "Use of Time by Oregon Farm Home Makers," *Bulletin 256* (Corvallis: Oregon Agricultural Experimental Station, 1929).

[2] Report by P. E. McNall and D. R. Mitchell, Department of Agricultural Economics, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin," see E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Better Living in Home and Community, Circular 247*, (Madison; Extension Service, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin coöperating with American Country Life Association, 1931), page 13.

for recreation and for social and organizational activity of various kinds. And the number and variety of these activities appear to be on the increase as is pointed out in Chapter IX.

Changes in Neighborhood Arrangements of Country People.—Not only have there been changes in the ways of family living among country people, but there have also been changes in the neighborhood and social grouping arrangements in country society. One of the interesting and, to some, one of the surprising discoveries of the restudy, is the persistence of country neighborhoods, those primary locality groups that lie between the family and the larger community. Such neighborhood groups are found in all regions but they are especially numerous in the Middle West. Their origin frequently traces back to settlement days. At present they are most often organized about rural schools, churches, stores, or other forms of local activity. The results, as found in the restudy of the 140 communities, will be given and brief references made to the findings in the more intensive restudies of local areas in four states. More detailed, though brief, case reports of the intensive studies are given in the Appendix.[1]

The Decline of Neighborhoods with Reasons for the Loss.—In the 1924 study of the 140 village-centered communities, 513 neighborhood groups were found. By 1930, 118, or 23 percent, of them had disintegrated, or at least no trace of them could be found. However, 24 new groups had appeared, and 10 additional ones were included by reason of the increase in the boundaries of the communities themselves. The net loss therefore in the six-year period was 84 neighborhoods, or a 16.4 percent decline. This net loss was not evenly distributed among the four regions. In the Middle Atlantic and Middle West regions it was 12 percent; in the Far West it was 4 percent; while in the South it was 30 percent.

The South, generally speaking, began its program of road improvement later than the other regions and its full effect on the neighborhoods of many of its communities, as foretold by earlier field workers, was not apparent until 1930. It is a hardy neighborhood that survives, unchanged, the putting through of a national or state highway. Even a county highway, especially if hard-surfaced, sometimes has a detrimental influence on neighborhood solidarity. Thus two-thirds of the whole loss in southern neighborhoods, 32 in number, took place in two communities, one a county-seat community where a county-wide system of improved roads had been put into effect since 1924. Better roads were at least a factor in the disappearance of three-fifths of the remaining southern neighborhoods.

On the other hand, this cause of decline was operative in less than one-fifth of the cases outside the South. Because of the great road development already completed in the other regions, it will probably be a factor

[1] See Appendix C.

of decreasing importance in neighborhood disintegration in the future. Thus in the Middle West in 1924, it was found in many communities that farmer neighborhoods on the main highways or too close to villages had largely disappeared.

Other causes of disintegration, some of them indirectly related to road improvements, were also found. In a number of instances the loss through consolidation, or through the closing of a church, school or store, was responsible for the disappearance of the neighborhood group. There were also heavy losses in a few of the Middle West communities where the foreign-born stock had been assimilated largely because of the passing or the retiring of the first and older generation and the more complete identification of those of the second generation with the affairs of the larger community.

In other places the racial ties were about the only remaining force making for neighborhood cohesion. The running out of a mining or a lumbering development, or the closing of an industry, was another reason for disappearance of a small number of neighborhoods. In a few places, too, farm abandonment and the attendant depopulation ended neighborhood life.

Many interesting cases were also found where, through the development of improved village-country relations and the growth of joint projects, the country neighborhoods had merged their identities with those of the larger community. Country groups based on kinship were also found much less frequently. In a number of places field workers were told that the agricultural distress was disrupting the usual group activities, but that the people looked forward to the revival of the neighborhood life. In other instances the local group activity seemed to have been quickened by the increased difficulties of earning a living. Mutual-aid and home-talent projects were revived. On the whole, however, the 1930 study discovered no factors of disintegration, save the depression, which were not already in operation to a greater or less extent in 1924.

Factors Integrating or Holding Neighborhoods.—Since the majority of neighborhoods are persisting rather than disappearing, it is important to analyze those factors with integrating or holding powers. Table 25 is introduced as an aid in doing this.

This table gives a comparison of the factors or the combination of factors that were considered responsible for integrating or holding the neighborhoods in 1924 and in 1930. They are arrayed in the table on the basis of most frequent occurrence in 1924. The combination of "school and church" heads the list, followed closely by "school only" and by "school, church and trade service." The next combinations are "social or economic activity," which includes the informal as well as the formal or organized sociability and recreation, and such forms of local economic enterprises as creameries, threshing rings, and marketing or purchasing

associations; and "church only." The decrease in frequency and the wider variation in factors are especially noticeable from that point on. This summarizes in a rather definite way the changes in the tendencies discovered both in the 140 communities and in local areas given intensive study, namely, that neighborhoods that are integrated by organizations or institutions or those that are centered at a crossroad or hamlet cluster of institutions, tend to persist.

The variations from region to region in 1930 are, of course, rather marked. Purely church neighborhoods were not found so frequently in

TABLE 25.—FACTORS INTEGRATING AND HOLDING NEIGHBORHOODS IN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES, BY REGION, AND RANK OF THOSE FACTORS,—140 VILLAGES

Factor	All regions		Middle Atlantic		South		Middle West		Far West		Rank of factors	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
Total neighborhoods	513	429	110	96	151	105	175	154	77	74		
School and church	124	57	13	10	54	21	54	21	3	5	1	2
School only	73	51	7	9	26	14	31	25	9	3	2	3
School, church and trade service*	64	61	10	24	19	4	32	18	3	15	3	1
Church only	42	46	3	4	17	17	14	24	8	1	4.5	5
Social or economic activity	42	48	25	13	1	11	8	8	8	16	4.5	4
Minor center	32	7	4	1	8	2	10	0	10	4	6	12
School and social or economic activity	22	29	1	1	0	0	0	13	21	15	7	6
Industry	20	10	7	2	3	1	5	7	5	0	8	10.5
Store	15	28	11	7	0	13	4	8	0	0	9	7
Racial group	13	14	2	1	0	1	6	10	5	2	10	9
Family group	11	6	6	0	0	3	3	2	2	1	11	12
Topography	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	12.5	13
Real estate development	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	12.5	
Church and social or economic activity†	...	21	...	6	...	0	...	10	..	5	....	8
Trade and social or economic activity†	...	10	...	5	...	0	...	4	..	1	....	10.5
Factor not designated	37	28	11	11	23	17	3	0	0	0		
Disintegrating	14	10	9	2	0	1	5	2	0	5		

* Trade service includes store, elevator or creamery.

† These combinations were not listed in 1924.

the Far West. Nor have racial and religious groups played the part in the settlement of this region that they did in the Middle West. Likewise in the Middle Atlantic region the church was a minor factor; while, on the other hand, in the South and the Middle West it accounted for one-sixth of the neighborhoods. In these latter two regions also the school, the combination of school with church, and of the two with trade were very important.

Nearly two-thirds of the Far West neighborhoods were integrated about equally by the combinations of school and some social or economic activity, by social or economic activity alone, and by school, church and trade. No other factor accounted for as much as one-fifteenth of the neighborhoods in this region.

Many cases could be cited of how the factors work in maintaining old neighborhoods or in the formation of new ones. It was surprising, in view of the expected decline of the neighborhoods, how frequently local people showed that they still thought in terms of the locality. Typical of this is this statement by a storekeeper:

> Yup, that's our neighborhood line all right. We're all blue bellies (*i.e.*, Yankees) around here. If you went any further you'd get Irish Hill and those folks are another bunch.

This comment was made in a neighborhood of eighty population that seemed weaker than in 1924, but was still self-conscious. Apart from the store with its traditional stock plus a gasoline pump, the only neighborhood institutions were a feeble church, a one-room school and a Grange.

Or, take the case of Spring Hill, where locality does play the part. It is a strictly open-country section with no hard-surfaced road other than macadam running through it. Thirty families—150 people—make up the group. Eleven of the farms are owned by direct descendants of the original owners. Three of the farms are owned by southern Europeans. One of these families is active in the neighborhood affairs. The social organizations consist of a two-teacher school; an adult and a juvenile Grange; and a Methodist church with organized Sunday-school classes, including a men's class, a Ladies Aid and Boy Scouts. The Grange, except for a short period more than thirty years ago, has been active since 1878. The juvenile Grange is one of the first of its kind to be started and includes the children of the three foreign-born farmers.

Soon after the 1924 survey the Grange Hall burned. The community promptly erected a community hall that is one in every sense. There is a special room for the juvenile Grange and the Scouts. The hall is used about 150 times a year. All Sunday-school classes meet there, as do both the Grange organizations, Scouts and Ladies' Aid. Young peoples' parties are held there, and there are many plays, suppers and the like in the course of a year. A well-patronized travelling library is also housed in the Community Hall. The debt-free building is valued at $10,000; but 30 percent of the value represents donated labor by the local people.

The neighborhood itself is the decisive factor. The organizations are its children, not its parents. As one leader said when asked to discuss Grange activities:

> It's hard to tell just which events are Grange; everything is all in together here; all the events are really community events.

In a number of cases, however, the integrating tie in the neighborhood was some special group or organization activity like an agricultural extension project or a mothers' club. Such a project had become more

important in binding the group than the fact of living in proximity, or in the same immediate locality. At times these special-interest groups seemed to represent a definite attempt to substitute something for the disappearing locality neighborliness. On the other hand, some of them became important factors in conserving, reviving or creating neighborliness in the locality. This was observed particularly in the South and certain states in the Middle West.

It was also found that special interest groups were far more likely to occur where the loyalty to the neighborhood had been or continued to be stronger among older people who had been active in the horse-and-buggy days but whose children could be held only by special-organization groups or projects. As the chapter on social and recreational organizations will show, there is a real tendency for various kinds of special organizations to increase in number. Many of them are promoted from outside the locality or are local units of some larger county or district plan of organization.

In summation concerning the changing neighborhood situation in the 140 communities, as well as in the four local areas given special attention, it may, therefore, be suggested that neighborhood groups of certain types do tend to persist. The types most clearly noted are first, a local-area group, or locality-group, characterized by neighborliness, frequent visiting or social contacts, and by an increasing importance of the social factor in the sense of informal sociability or recreational activity.

The second type is the locality-group with an integrating center of one or more local social institutions such as the school, church and store. While many a neighborhood group in its earlier existence was not content until its ideals or ideas were institutionalized, now its institutions or organizations are frequently its only reason for existence. To that extent it did well in establishing its anchorage. However, readjustments and reorganizations are often achieved only with great difficulty after this stage has been reached.

The hamlet is the third type. As has been suggested, there is frequently a settling-down process after any innovation or invention in communication or transportation has reached its full vogue. There is likewise a "stepping up" process. Functions performed by local centers are transferred to larger villages or cities.

Some villages by the process have become more nearly complete service centers, as a following chapter will show. On the other hand, some villages have settled back to a hamlet status; and some hamlets are hardly more than crossroad places with little if any country group affiliations. By whatever process, hamlets do continue to be centers for local-group life, and particularly for some institutional group life. They differ very little in kind, though of course they do differ in character and extent from those larger relationships organized about the village, which

in Chapter IV are to be characterized as the community of country and village.

The hamlet and its service area are, however, characterized by different institutions; and they are most likely to persist at a measureable distance away from the larger village centers.

A second summary suggestion is to the effect that local social life and organization is more likely to be found about special interests, projects or purposes than was the case a decade or more ago. There is more of outside leadership and promotion than formerly, as the chapter on social organizations (Chapter IX) will show. Among the organizations promoted around special purposes, there are the breeders' associations, 4-H clubs, women's groups of many kinds, health units, and civic or welfare agencies. This tendency toward special groups does not mean that it is a substitution for the neighborhood group, although it may be. Moreover, such special interest organizations often have many members within varying neighborhood circles, whether the neighborhoods are active or inactive. Those traditions and customs of neighborhood life seem to have enriched the soil in which the newer forms of social organization flourish.

Chapter III

VILLAGE GROWTH

BEFORE the changing relations of country and village can be considered the question whether the villages of the United States are growing or declining must be answered. There have been those who have argued that the village or small town was slowly dying, losing its population, and therefore to consider it as a center for any larger village-country organizational activity would be futile. The results of the present study do not bear out this line of argument. Rather they point in the direction of a steady growth, a tendency already noted and analyzed in earlier studies made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.[1]

The present study likewise indicates an increasing relative stability in village population changes, a tendency characteristic of population changes of the nation as a whole. Inasmuch as the methods employed are especially important in the determination of results obtained in all problems of measuring population growth or decline, an effort is made in this chapter to explain each procedure. Likewise, because of the varying conclusions reached by others, more details and the results of more measures are given than would otherwise have been considered necessary.

To really secure a measure of growth, decline or stability in village population, it is important to understand the sources of data and the assumptions under which they are compiled. Because population classes are set in certain limits, and because villages are likely to traverse such limits in succeeding decades, it is easy to miss the real answer as to whether villages are growing unless identical places are followed through different census-taking years. Therefore, as a first method of analysis, this caution of the census was observed:

> In order, therefore, to present fairly the contrast between specified size groups of urban communities and between urban and rural communities in regard to their *rates* of growth, it is necessary to consider the changes in population which have taken place from one decennial census to another in the *same territory*. This method avoids the disturbing effect on the rate of growth which otherwise would arise from the passage of certain communities from the rural to the urban or from the urban to the rural classes.[2]

This was an important consideration to observe, because between 1910 and 1930 about 1,000 villages, more than one-tenth of the total

[1] *Cf.* Fry, C. L., *American Villagers* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1926).

[2] *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Population*, Volume I, p. 57.

number, did pass from the rural classification of incorporated places of less than 2,500 population to the urban classification as defined by the Census of Population. To eliminate this large group would obscure the story of trends.

FOLLOWING THE SAME VILLAGES

Three measures of growth or decline were applied according to the plan of comparison suggested by the census, namely of following the same villages through the two decades regardless of their passage into other classifications.

The Rate of Growth Measure.—The first measure under this plan was to take all of the 8,900 incorporated places, for all regions except New England, that fell within the technical definition of "village," namely, incorporated places of 250 to 2,500 population, in the year 1910. The next step was to follow them through the 1920 and the 1930 enumerations regardless of whether or not they passed into the "urban" class as defined by the census. Table 26 gives the result of this analysis in terms of change in average population and in the rates of growth for the two decades, 1910 to 1920 and 1920 to 1930, separately and for the full twenty-year period 1910 to 1930.

TABLE 26.—AVERAGE POPULATION IN 1910, 1920 AND 1930 AND RATE OF GROWTH OF THE 8,900 VILLAGES INCORPORATED BY 1910, BY DIVISION

Census division*	Number of villages	Average population			Rate of growth		
		1910	1920	1930	1910 to 1920 Percent	1920 to 1930 Percent	1910 to 1930 Percent
All divisions	8,900	833	960	1,104	15.2	15.0	32.5
Middle Atlantic	1,018	1,023	1,208	1,530	18.1	26.6	49.6
East North Central	2,276	826	885	982	7.1	10.9	21.3
West North Central	2,363	741	822	839	10.9	2.0	13.2
South Atlantic	1,189	796	981	1,193	10.7	21.6	49.9
East South Central	656	820	946	1,117	15.4	18.0	36.2
West South Central	831	915	1,138	1,339	24.4	17.7	46.3
Mountain†	250	844	994	1,032	17.8	3.7	22.3
Pacific	317	914	1,176	1,664	28.6	41.5	82.0

Source: Special tabulations of Census data for 1910, 1920 and 1930.

* New England is excluded because three of the six states in this division have no incorporated villages, and two of the others very few. This is owing to the township system of municipal organization which exists there.

† Only Utah, New Mexico, Colorado and Montana included.

The table indicates that villages are growing at about the national rate of growth for the whole population. From 1910 to 1920 this total rate was 14.9 percent; from 1920 to 1930 it was 16.1 percent; and from 1910 to 1930 it was 33.5 percent. It is significant to note that the rate of village growth in five of the eight divisions was greater for the last decade,

1920 to 1930, than for the first, 1910 to 1920. The divisions of low rates for the last decade are the West North Central and the Mountain, both of which show a sharp decrease in rate as compared to the first decade.

TABLE 27.—PROPORTION OF 8,900 VILLAGES INCORPORATED BY 1910 GROWING, DECLINING OR STATIONARY FROM 1910 TO 1930, BY DIVISION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE

Census division and size of village	Number of villages	Percent of villages		
		Growing	Stationary	Declining
		Over 20 percent	From 20 percent growth to 20 percent decline	Over 20 percent
All divisions	8,900	30.5	62.3	7.2
Small	6,321	26.9	65.4	7.7
Medium	1,724	37.1	57.0	5.9
Large	855	42.1	51.6	6.3
Middle Atlantic				
Small	586	31.0	65.0	4.0
Medium	265	47.2	50.9	1.9
Large	167	53.3	44.3	2.4
East North Central				
Small	1,641	17.8	73.6	8.6
Medium	437	21.5	69.8	8.7
Large	198	25.3	67.7	7.0
West North Central				
Small	1,842	17.3	76.5	6.2
Medium	354	24.3	71.2	4.5
Large	167	30.0	61.0	9.0
South Atlantic				
Small	865	43.2	50.1	6.7
Medium	220	53.2	43.6	3.2
Large	104	59.6	39.4	1.0
East South Central				
Small	467	37.3	54.8	7.9
Medium	130	49.2	45.4	5.4
Large	59	50.8	45.8	3.4
West South Central				
Small	533	38.4	48.8	12.8
Medium	199	47.3	44.2	8.5
Large	99	52.5	40.4	7.1
Mountain				
Small	180	39.5	48.3	12.2
Medium	45	40.0	46.7	13.3
Large	25	36.0	44.0	20.0
Pacific				
Small	207	40.6	48.8	10.6
Medium	74	56.8	35.1	8.1
Large	36	50.0	33.3	16.7

Source: Special tabulations of Census data for 1910, 1920 and 1930.

On the whole, there has been the tendency toward growth, at least to the extent that villages are holding their own in the general population increase.

The Number and Percent of Villages Growing or Declining More or Less than 20 Percent in Twenty Years.—Another method of measuring

the growth or decline of villages was to take the 8,900 villages incorporated by 1910 and find how many of them gained or lost by as much as 1 percent per year, on the basis of the 1910 population, or 20 percent in the entire twenty-year period, 1910 to 1930. A further refinement was introduced to show variations in changes according to three size-groups. The villages between 250 and 1,000 population were designated as "small," those between 1,000 and 1,750 as "medium," and those between 1,750 and 2,500 as "large." Table 27 shows the result of this computatio.n

For every seven villages that declined 20 percent or more between 1910 and 1930, thirty increased 20 percent or more. The ratio varied, to be sure, by size of place and by the division of its location; but even among the small villages there was only one division that showed a ratio as low as two villages growing to one declining. The central, or relatively "stationary," group presents an interesting story of relative equilibrium or stability, although even here it is only fair to point out that in most states the gains considerably outnumbered the losses.

When 1920 and 1930 were compared, still on the basis of gain or loss of 10 percent for the ten-year period, the trends were substantially the same.

The Amount of Growth or Decline by 100 Person Intervals.—A third and more minute measure of growth or decline was employed. The same conditions were maintained as in the two previous methods; namely, the villages of 250 to 2,500 population incorporated by 1910 were followed for the twenty years regardless of whether or not they changed census classifications. This time the *amount* of gain or loss was considered.

This method was used because figures regarding mere growth and decline may mean but little; for if the idea of amount is lost, a gain of only one might put a village in the growth column the same as a gain of a thousand. The technique therefore followed in this third measure was to place each village on a correlation plot representing its population in 1910 as compared with 1920, its population in 1920 as compared with 1930, and then its 1910 population as compared with 1930. Only 8,882 villages, which came within the classification in 1910 for only thirty-eight states, were taken.[1] The unit for comparison was 100 persons. Thus if a village of between 350 and 450 persons in 1910 remained in the same category in 1920 it was placed in the zero group. If it advanced into the next category, 450 to 550, it was placed in a +1 group, and so on, using minus signs when places lost enough people to fall into a lower category. Tables and plots were prepared for each state for the years indicated; but only the 1910 to 1930 and the 1920 to 1930 comparisons are included here. They are carried in Tables 28 and 29.

[1] Arizona, Wyoming, Nevada and Idaho were omitted because many changes in incorporated areas and other causes made the smaller comparisons used in this method of measurement impossible.

TABLE 28.—NUMERICAL INCREASE AND DECREASE IN POPULATION FROM 1910 TO 1930 OF THE 8,900 INCORPORATED VILLAGES, BY SIZE OF VILLAGE

(Groups of one hundred)

Population in 1910	No. of villages	−12 and over	−11	−10	−9	−8	−7	−6	−5	−4	−3	−2	−1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7	+8	+9	+10	+11	+12	+13	+14	+15	+16	+17	+18	+19	+20	+21	+22	+23	+24	+25	+26 and over
All villages	8,900	12	3	7	7	7	20	20	42	82	157	472	1,369	2,178	1,430	806	489	314	231	202	152	115	91	59	68	54	47	34	37	36	33	20	30	18	19	14	16	10	11	188
Large villages	855	10	2	3	2	4	13	6	9	18	29	45	49	60	67	60	48	43	44	39	36	28	22	25	22	13	17	12	15	8	8	8	2	9	6	5	4	4	2	1	70
2,450–2,499	56	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	1	2	5	2	2	2	3	2	1	4	3	1	3	2	1	1	1	3	4	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	7
2,350–2,449	53	1	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	2	3	4	1	6	3	8	1	5	8	6	3	1	1	2	5	1	2	1	3	2	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	7
2,250–2,349	70	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	3	2	1	2	2	5	8	7	3	4	2	3	2	3	2	4	1	1	3	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	8
2,150–2,249	100	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	3	2	6	3	5	7	8	4	4	5	5	5	8	4	1	2	2	4	1	1	3	2	2	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	10
2,050–2,149	104	1	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	..	2	7	10	6	10	10	5	5	4	2	6	3	3	3	1	..	1	3	2	2	..	1	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	7
1,950–2,049	144	1	..	..	1	1	..	2	3	4	3	8	7	13	8	14	11	6	6	8	2	3	5	6	4	3	..	4	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	14
1,850–1,949	134	3	..	..	..	1	2	1	1	2	4	2	13	13	8	3	4	8	9	6	4	6	5	6	4	2	5	1	3	2	2	..	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	9
1,750–1,849	158	3	1	..	..	..	1	..	4	7	15	9	11	22	11	15	7	7	7	7	8	1	4	3	1	1	1	..	1	1	1	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	8
Medium villages	1,724	2	1	3	5	2	6	7	19	31	57	117	187	214	193	166	122	94	69	66	53	40	28	21	14	15	20	10	7	14	10	10	11	7	13	5	6	7	7	65
1,650–1,749	137	..	1	1	2	..	..	1	..	4	4	5	11	9	13	9	8	8	5	7	7	5	7	1	..	3	2	2	..	2	4	1	3	..	2	1	..	2	1	6
1,550–1,649	151	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	3	3	7	14	16	15	17	11	10	14	3	5	4	5	2	1	2	1	2	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	11
1,450–1,549	170	1	..	..	..	3	1	2	2	5	11	13	15	16	14	19	8	9	9	5	5	2	1	1	4	3	..	1	1	2	..	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	1	11
1,350–1,449	224	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	5	6	9	17	21	30	19	14	12	16	9	13	5	9	3	1	4	2	4	3	3	1	1	3	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	9
1,250–1,349	245	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	3	9	15	31	27	26	29	18	8	4	13	7	2	3	5	4	..	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	4	2	1	..	..	..	5
1,150–1,249	293	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	6	10	16	35	47	41	28	21	11	7	5	13	2	2	3	1	2	4	2	1	1	1	3	4	1	3	1	3	2	12
1,050–1,149	337	..	..	..	1	..	..	3	4	6	13	28	36	42	36	35	24	22	14	12	8	7	5	7	2	..	3	1	2	5	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	8
1,000–1,049	187	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	2	3	4	18	26	28	27	20	9	11	7	4	3	6	1	1	1	2	2	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	3
Small villages	6,321	0	0	1	0	1	1	7	14	33	71	310	1,133	1,904	1,170	580	319	177	118	97	63	52	41	13	32	26	10	12	15	14	15	8	10	5	1	5	6	1	3	53
950–999	187	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	4	4	18	26	28	28	19	10	10	8	4	3	5	2	..	2	1	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	3
850–949	436	..	..	..	1	..	2	2	4	5	36	53	77	75	54	24	26	12	7	3	9	4	1	6	5	1	2	1	..	2	2	..	..	2	..	1	..	1	1	15
750–849	516	..	..	..	..	..	3	6	10	12	41	80	105	76	52	32	18	16	15	9	4	7	..	3	4	3	1	4	..	2	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	8
650–749	698	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	7	20	48	123	187	117	82	41	31	13	18	10	8	3	4	4	..	2	1	4	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	9
550–649	816	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	14	35	155	209	155	81	48	24	20	18	8	7	6	2	4	3	1	3	2	2	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
450–549	999	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	11	64	207	294	183	73	54	26	17	13	13	4	5	2	4	4	1	1	2	2	1	3	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	7
350–449	1,264	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	37	231	465	249	116	61	18	18	12	10	8	7	4	2	3	1	..	2	2	5	2	1	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	2
250–349	1,405	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	258	589	287	103	49	24	14	10	7	7	4	1	7	2	1	3	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

Source: Special tabulations of Census data for 1910 and 1930.

TABLE 29.—NUMERICAL INCREASE AND DECREASE IN POPULATION FROM 1920 TO 1930 OF 8,230 INCORPORATED VILLAGES, BY SIZE OF VILLAGE

(Groups of one hundred)

Population in 1920	No. of villages	−12 and over	−11	−10	−9	−8	−7	−6	−5	−4	−3	−2	−1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7	+8	+9	+10	+11	+12	+13	+14	+15	+16	+17	+18	+19	+20	+21	+22	+23	+24	+25	+26 and over
All villages	8,230	3	3	2	5	6	14	17	35	74	154	428	1,522	2,818	1,350	608	307	226	146	84	70	57	44	33	22	26	26	16	19	14	16	7	7	10	10	5	6	4	1	43
Large villages	803	3	2	1	2	2	8	4	9	22	29	55	66	105	99	71	56	39	43	25	16	22	13	13	6	8	9	9	10	7	8	4	1	3	4	3	3	1	1	21
2,450–2,499	36	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	3	1	3	5	1	2	2	2	1	..	2	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2
2,350–2,449	73	..	..	1	1	2	2	..	2	4	7	4	6	7	6	7	2	5	2	1	3	..	2	1	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
2,250–2,349	91	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	5	4	5	8	15	8	3	9	7	3	3	4	1	1	..	2	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	3
2,150–2,249	101	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	4	5	10	6	14	14	6	10	3	5	2	..	3	1	..	1	1	4	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	4
2,050–2,149	118	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	5	2	10	9	16	11	10	3	5	7	7	2	5	2	2	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
1,950–2,049	112	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	5	3	4	13	15	13	11	12	8	4	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	..	2	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1
1,850–1,949	144	1	..	..	..	1	2	1	2	3	6	7	13	21	17	14	7	7	5	8	4	2	4	4	2	1	2	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	4
1,750–1,849	128	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	4	10	15	22	17	15	7	3	8	8	3	3	2	1	1	..	3	..	2	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	4
Medium villages	1,870	0	1	1	3	3	6	9	17	28	77	156	283	389	274	181	108	80	47	31	29	21	18	14	8	13	11	5	5	4	6	2	5	5	6	2	2	2	0	18
1,650–1,749	181	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	10	11	27	19	28	21	10	14	5	4	2	3	3	2	1	2	3	2	3	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	1
1,550–1,649	185	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	5	5	17	19	29	23	24	19	14	3	6	1	2	4	1	2	1	1	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
1,450–1,549	167	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	5	5	11	23	38	17	13	17	6	6	3	5	1	2	1	1	2	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	3
1,350–1,449	232	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	2	3	13	15	32	44	33	24	10	5	10	1	5	2	4	2	..	2	..	2	..	1	1	2	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	1
1,250–1,349	262	..	..	..	1	1	3	2	2	4	6	20	53	59	30	25	11	10	11	5	3	6	1	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
1,150–1,249	300	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	4	5	17	26	48	56	55	35	13	8	2	6	6	5	2	2	1	1	4	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	3
1,050–1,149	340	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	2	13	15	35	62	89	56	21	15	15	6	5	3	1	1	4	2	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	1	..	1	3
1,000–1,049	213	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	5	8	21	34	55	92	18	13	8	4	1	4	1	1	1	1	..	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	0
Small villages	5,557	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	9	24	48	217	1,173	2,324	977	348	143	107	56	28	25	14	13	6	8	5	6	2	4	3	2	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	4
950–999	211	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	3	7	22	34	54	33	17	13	8	4	1	4	..	1	1	1	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0
850–949	455	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	9	39	86	133	65	43	18	15	14	5	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
750–849	520	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	7	9	26	112	159	91	41	24	14	10	4	7	1	3	1	2	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
650–749	671	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	7	9	42	163	208	108	60	17	20	8	4	5	4	3	2	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
550–649	760	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	8	42	192	270	128	47	24	19	7	7	4	5	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	0
450–549	943	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	25	223	392	187	61	21	14	8	4	1	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0
350–449	1,110	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	17	244	558	200	49	17	12	3	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	0
250–349	887	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	119	550	165	30	9	5	2	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0

Source: Special tabulations of Census data for 1920 and 1930.

Considering the whole sample for the twenty-year period, 1910 to 1930, 24.7 percent, about one-fourth, failed to change, that is, move from one 100 category to another; 51.9 percent, slightly more than one-half, moved up one or more hundreds and in some cases even thousands; and 23.4 percent, a scant quarter, fell into lower categories, but for a considerable majority it was the 100 group immediately below.

The 1920 to 1930 analysis is also included because the period, 1910 to 1930, included the War-prosperity years, and might therefore be considered more likely to show growth of villages along with other forms of expansion. A further conservative caution was introduced into the 1920 to 1930 calculations; namely, all villages that had exceeded the 2,500 class between 1910 and 1920 were omitted, and likewise all those places that had been newly incorporated as villages during that period. This procedure cut the total number to 8,230; nevertheless, 42.6 percent, not quite one-half, moved up into higher categories; 23.3 percent, less than one-fourth, fell into lower groups; and 34.1 percent, over one-third, came through the decade in the same one hundred classification.

Villages of Less Than 1,000 Population Considered Separately.—Since villages of less than 1,000 population constitute 71 percent of all villages, and since it is this smaller class of villages that seems most likely to be affected by those social and economic forces making for a possible decline of population, special attention was given to them. In 1910 there were 6,321 such "small" villages; and by 1930, 30.1 percent of them were still in the same hundred category, while one-fourth had dropped one or more hundreds, and 45 percent had advanced. By comparison, 70.8 percent of the "large" villages (1,750 to 2,500) advanced and 7.0 percent remained relatively stationary; and 62.3 percent of the "medium" villages (1,000 to 1,750) moved up; and 12.4 percent held their same position. The small villages of less than 1,000 people do not, therefore, exhibit as great a tendency toward growth as do the others, but still they do show real vitality, or more especially, the power to survive.

The three measures used under the census caution of following the same villages showed clearly, therefore, that villages do grow. There were differences due to size; and there were important variations in the different census divisions of the country. In the Middle West, especially in the West North Central states, and in the Mountain states, for example, the rates of growth were much lower, while the Pacific Coast villages continued to grow at a rapid rate. Likewise the analysis showed a surprising amount of constancy or relative equilibrium; that is, a considerable number of villages do not grow very much, nor do they decline very much. They hold their own.

Agricultural Villages Show Less Growth but Greater Stability Tendencies.—Although the 140 agricultural villages in which field studies were made were included in the large sample of all villages in-

corporated by 1910 for which growth or decline tendencies were just examined, it is important to point out that the large sample included more than agricultural villages. The large majority were agricultural; but some were industrial, some suburban, and some resort villages.

Therefore special studies by the same methods were made of the growth or decline tendencies of the 140 agricultural villages. Plotted by the intervals of hundreds, it was found that 28 of the 132 villages incorporated

TABLE 30.—NUMERICAL INCREASE AND DECREASE IN POPULATION FROM 1910 TO 1930 OF 132* INCORPORATED VILLAGES

(Groups of one hundred)

Population in 1910	Total	−5	−4	−3	−2	−1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
All villages	132	1		2	3	11	28	21	22	15	10	7	3	1	1	3		1	1	1		1
Towns	1									1												
2,750–2,849	1									1												
Large villages	14						1	3	4	2		1	1	1		1						
2,450–2,499																						
2,350–2,449	3							1	1			1										
2,250–2,349	2								1				1									
2,150–2,249	2								1							1						
2,050–2,149																						
1,950–2,049																						
1,850–1,949																						
1,750–1,849	7						1	2	1	2				1								
Medium villages	55	1		2		11	11	5	8	4	6	1	2		1			1	1	1		
1,650–1,749	6						2		1	1	1		1									
1,550–1,649	4			1					1	1	1											
1,450–1,549	4						1	1	1											1		
1,350–1,449	10	1				1	2		1		2	1			1				1			
1,250–1,349	6					4		1	1													
1,150–1,249	9					1	3	1	2	2												
1,050–1,149	8			1		3	2	2														
1,000–1,049	8					2	1		1		2		1					1				
Small villages	59				3		14	12	10	8	4	5				2						1
950–999	6						1	1	1	1	1					1						
850–949	10				2		2	2	1	1	2											
750–849	8						3		1	2	1	1										
650–749	13				1		5	4	1	1		1										
550–649	11							4	3	1		2										1
450–549	7						2	1	2	1		1										
350–449	2						1									1						
250–349	2								1	1												
Hamlets	3						2	1														
150–249	3						2	1														
0–149																						

Source: Special tabulation of Census data for 1910 and 1930.

* 8 of the 140 villages were not incorporated in 1910.

in 1910, remained in the same hundred group in 1930 as in 1910. Of the 104 that did change groups, only 17, or less than one-sixth, dropped one or more hundreds; and 11 of these, all medium in size, fell into the group next below the one in which they started. Of the 87 that advanced, 21 passed into the group next above, 22 advanced two hundreds, 15 went three hundreds, and 29 continued to higher groups.

Between 1920 and 1930 there was less variation, as one would expect. In this decade, 33 did not change their group; 73 advanced one or more hundreds, 30 passing into the first group above. The remaining 34 dropped one or more hundreds, 20 going into the group immediately below. The details for both the periods are given in Tables 30 and 31.

TABLE 31.—NUMERICAL INCREASE AND DECREASE IN POPULATION FROM 1920 TO 1930 OF THE 140 VILLAGES

(Groups of one hundred)

Population in 1920	Total	−5	−4	−3	−2	−1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	25
All villages	140	2		3	9	20	33	30	15	10	7	1	4	2	1	1	1	1
Towns	4							1		2			1					
2,750–2,849	2							1		1								
2,650–2,749																		
2,550–2,649	1									1								
2,500–2,549	1												1					
Large villages	23				1	2	3	1	4	2	2		3	2	1	1	1	
2,450–2,499																		
2,350–2,449																		
2,250–2,349	1									1								
2,150–2,249	3								1	1			1					
2,050–2,149	2						1				1							
1,950–2,049	3										1		1	1				
1,850–1,949	10				1	1	1	1	2				1	1	1	1		
1,750–1,849	4					1	1		1								1	
Medium villages	60	2		3	7	9	11	13	7	4	3							1
1,650–1,749	7					1		2	2		2							
1,550–1,649	6					1		1		3								1
1,450–1,549	3			1	1	1												
1,350–1,449	13	1		2	2	2	3	2	1									
1,250–1,349	7				1	2	1	2	1									
1,150–1,249	7	1			1		2		2		1							
1,050–1,149	13				2	1	3	6		1								
1,000–1,049	4					1	2		1									
Small villages	52				1	9	18	15	4	2	2	1						
950–999	7				1		3	1		2								
850–949	10					3	2	3	1		1							
750–849	11					2	6	1	1			1						
650–749	7						4	2			1							
550–649	8					1	1	5	1									
450–549	5					1	2	1	1									
350–449	2					1		1										
250–349	2					1		1										
Hamlets	1						1											
150–249	1						1											
0–149																		

Source: Special tabulations of Census data for 1920 and 1930.

The actual rates of growth between 1920 and 1930 were as follows: entire 140 villages, 8.6 percent; 28 Middle Atlantic villages, 11.0 percent; 30 South villages, 13.8 percent; 60 Middle West villages, 2.4 percent; and 22 Far West villages, 15.5 percent. On the whole, the growth tendencies of the agricultural villages were not so great as those found when all villages were considered; but the tendencies to maintain their populations were even greater.

MEASURES OF CHANGE UNDER THE STATIC DEFINITION

Another way of answering the question of village growth or decline was to accept the census practice rather than its caution, and to take

TABLE 32.—POPULATION OF INCORPORATED VILLAGES IN 1910, 1920 AND 1930 AND OF THOSE INCORPORATED DURING THE TWO DECADES, BY DIVISION

Census division	Incorporated villages in 1910		Incorporated villages in 1920					
			Total		Incorporated by 1910		Incorporated 1910–20	
	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.
All divisions	8,882†	823†	9,244	856	8,206	879	1,038	678
Middle Atlantic	1,010	1,007	998	1,031	906	1,037	92	965
East North Central	2,269	820	2,258	833	2,106	846	152	653
West North Central	2,339	718	2,384	749	2,216	772	168	449
South Atlantic	1,184	790	1,217	862	1,087	891	130	615
East South Central	655	817	686	855	605	884	81	635
West South Central	825	909	974	949	750	1,007	224	757
Mountain*	250	844	343	864	232	970	111	643
Pacific	350	929	384	963	304	993	80	853

Census division	Incorporated villages in 1930							
	Total		Incorporated by 1910		Incorporated 1910–20		Incorporated 1920–30	
	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.
All divisions	9,499	853	7,822	882	878	763	799	670
Middle Atlantic	1,041	1,026	836	1,051	77	1,003	128	877
East North Central	2,342	819	2,067	840	135	770	140	561
West North Central	2,356	734	2,149	758	138	517	69	433
South Atlantic	1,272	886	1,025	932	108	820	139	601
East South Central	705	893	576	932	69	787	60	637
West South Central	1,061	931	686	1,014	196	786	179	770
Mountain*	362	825	216	975	101	669	45	456
Pacific	360	958	267	964	54	983	39	882

Source: Special tabulations of Census data for 1910, 1920 and 1930.

* Only Utah, New Mexico, Colorado and Montana were included.

† There are slight discrepancies between Tables 26 and 32. These are to be attributed to the fact that the data of Table 26 were in some instances derived from preliminary first releases, whereas the data of Table 32 were computed from the *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1903. Population*, Vol. I, issued in 1931. Since the differences in average populations as derived by these two independent hand counts were negligible, it was felt that the money of the study could be spent more profitably in pioneering new fields than in checking Table 26.

what may be called the "static" limitation. This was done by taking those incorporated places of a certain classification, namely, 250 to

2,500 in population in 1910, that remained in the same classification in 1920 or in 1930. Then, of course, places that were incorporated after 1910, or that grew or declined into the classification of 250 to 2,500 in population had to be taken into account in the plan of calculation. The analysis under this static definition or assumption proved to be especially interesting from the point of view of method because of its many possibilities for comparisons. For example, incorporated hamlets, places of less than 250 population, could be carried through a comparison similar to that of the villages; or the two could be combined, as is done in the usual census procedure.

Incorporated Places of Less than 2,500 Compared with Total Population.—The first comparison under the static definition was to combine villages and hamlets that included all the incorporated places under 2,500 population, and to see the changes in the proportion of their population to the total population and to the total rural population. Of the total population, such incorporated places represented 8.9 percent in 1910; 8.5 percent in 1920; and 7.5 percent in 1930. Of the total rural population they were 16.4 percent in 1910, 17.4 percent in 1920, and 17.1 percent in 1930. It would seem from these figures that incorporated places of less than 2,500 people are a slightly decreasing proportion of the total population of the nation, but that they have reached a relatively constant place in its rural population.

Village Comparisons for Two Decades, 1910 to 1930.—One general analysis table will be presented for the incorporated villages (250 to 2,500 population) for the two ten-year periods between 1910 and 1930. This is done in Table 32, and permits of many sorts of comparisons. Such an analysis shows, for example, that for all villages in the United States which were in that classification in 1910 and remained there until 1930, the increase in average population was from 823 to 882 (a gain of over 7 percent). Similarly, when the 878 villages incorporated after 1910 but before 1920 were followed to 1930, the increase in average size was from 678 to 763 (a gain of 12 percent). Only when the 617 incorporated hamlets (places of less than 250 people) that came up into the village classification between 1910 and 1930 and which averaged 375 were taken into account, did the mean average population of all places that were villages in 1930 show a decline in any region when compared with the 1910 average. Such a comparison reveals slight losses in six of the eight census regions, while the average for the whole remained practically stationary.[1]

[1] It may be interesting to the student of the village, as a check on the recurrency of these figures, to compare the results of averages with the 1930 census. To do this the population of incorporated hamlets, *i.e.*, places of less than 250 population, was added to that of the 8,882 villages considered in this study. The average population of all incorporated places under 2,500 population was then calculated. For the entire United States, the average of all incorporated places, and of places studied, was identical, *i.e.* 682. Identical averages were also obtained for six of the eight regions. In the other two, the variation was less than 1 per cent.

Similarly, each census division may be followed through from 1910 to 1920, 1920 to 1930, and over the complete period, 1910 to 1930. For

TABLE 33.—POPULATION OF INCORPORATED HAMLETS IN 1910, 1920 AND 1930, AND OF VILLAGES DECREASED TO HAMLETS DURING THE TWO DECADES, BY DIVISION

Census division	Incorporated hamlets in 1910		Hamlets in 1920							
			Total		Incorporated by 1910		Incorporated 1910–1920		Villages of 1910 decreased to hamlets by 1920	
	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.
All divisions	1,959	173	2,321	168	1,497	165	507	166	317	189
Middle Atlantic	100	169	132	161	88	159	20	129	24	195
South Atlantic	402	168	399	165	288	163	70	160	41	188
East North Central	246	184	377	176	222	167	51	192	104	188
West North Central	801	174	925	170	608	169	243	163	74	193
East South Central	184	174	193	171	138	170	32	159	23	195
West South Central	127	174	153	170	84	158	40	181	29	191
Mountain	46	152	62	145	30	113	21	186	11	155
Pacific	53	157	80	93	39	139	30	163	11	189

Census division	Hamlets in 1930											
	Total		Incorporated by 1910		Incorporated 1910–1920		Incorporated 1920–1930		Villages decreased to hamlets by 1930			
									Inc. by 1910		Inc. 1910–1920	
	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.	Number	Av. pop.
All divisions	2,772	162	1,446	159	412	157	440	150	383	185	91	174
Middle Atlantic	126	157	75	161	9	99	20	131	19	193	3	200
South Atlantic	476	161	267	163	53	157	95	145	48	182	13	181
East North Central	403	166	213	159	37	179	56	141	90	192	7	164
West North Central	1,151	163	611	163	215	152	180	151	118	190	27	195
East South Central	219	164	135	165	29	171	20	161	26	171	9	117
West South Central	221	159	80	145	36	169	43	165	47	168	15	158
Mountain	82	153	27	109	10	165	18	163	18	186	9	186
Pacific	94	146	38	125	23	151	8	144	17	178	8	169

Source: Special tabulations of Census data for 1910, 1920 and 1930.

example, taking the Middle Atlantic division, in 1910 there were 1,010 incorporated villages with an average population of 1,007. In 1920 the

places in this same village classification, 906 in number, had an average of 1,037 people, 104 having passed into the urban class. In addition, after 1910, but before 1920, there were 92 places incorporated as villages, having an average population of 965 in 1920. Furthermore, 12 incorporated hamlets had grown into the village class with an average population in 1920 of 315. Thus, despite these changes, there were still 1,010 villages within the definition in 1920 with an average population of 1,022, or a gain of 15 people. Without the incoming hamlets, the average would have been 1,031. If the first plan, of following the same villages, had been used and the 1,010 villages incorporated as such by 1910 had been followed through to 1920 regardless of definitions and classifications, their average population would have been 1,208.

In the same manner one may follow some of the younger and more rapidly growing hamlets up through the village into the urban classifications. The second plan of comparing growth or decline, however, has its definite limitations; because in the case of villages, for example, those that pass the 2,500 mark are lost to the calculations in spite of the fact that they are still the same in other characteristics only larger in population. Moreover, newly incorporated places are usually smaller than the average; and the hamlets rising beyond 250 population are, by the very definition, smaller. Despite all the limitations of the method and its definitions, villages still exhibited evidences of growth and of relative stability rather than of decline.

Comparison of Hamlets for the Two Decades.—According to technical definition, hamlets are places of less than 250 population. When the incorporated hamlets were analyzed by the second plan, they also gave some evidences of growth. Of the 1,959 such places existing in 1910, more than one-fifth, 462, had become villages by 1920, and over one-fourth, 513, by 1930. Of the 507 hamlets incorporated between 1910 and 1930, again about one-fifth, 95, advanced into the village class by 1930. The total number increased from 1,959 to 2,772 between 1910 and 1930, about half the increase taking place in each decade. The detailed figures are given in Table 33.

When traced through the period under the first plan without regard to classifications or definitions, the average population of the places that remained hamlets declined from 173 to 162, while the average for all those that were hamlets in 1910 rose to about 250 by 1930.

What of the Unincorporated Places?—There remains only the question of the unincorporated places, reported by the Census within the rural non-farm population classification. While there was a decline of 3.8 percent in the farm population between 1920 and 1930, the rural non-farm section increased 18 percent, 2 points more than the national rate of growth. In 1930 the rural non-farm element represented twenty-three million people, or more than two-fifths of the total rural figure.

Much of this population does live in centers not incorporated, for it is estimated that there are more than 7,000 of such places; and from the rates just cited, they are apparently growing.

The Tendency toward Less Change.—From whatever angle or assumption the question of village growth or decline has been approached, the answers have been much the same; apparently the tendency has been one of growth, at least not of decline; but perhaps of equal if not of greater importance, is a tendency toward a decreasing rate of change or what may be termed a greater relative stability. There is a central core of villages that are not changing significantly. They are holding their own. Between 1900 and 1920, as the previous study showed, there was but little variation in size in about two-fifths of the villages.[1] Between 1910 and 1930 nearly two-thirds of the small, and over half of the others, remained in the relatively stationary classification. Apparently villages that tend to grow or to decline rapidly are on the decrease, while those of a more steady or stabilized character are on the increase. This tendency is indicated still further, and in rather a convincing manner, by a series of high correlations given in Table 34 where 1910 populations are correlated with 1930, 1910 with 1920, and 1920 with 1930.

TABLE 34.—CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR POPULATIONS OF 8,632 VILLAGES INCORPORATED BY 1910, BY DIVISION

Census division	Number of villages	Correlation coefficient of populations		
		1910–1930	1910–1920	1920–1930
Middle Atlantic	1,010	.708	.810	.835
East North Central	2,269	.656	.890	.850
West North Central	2,339	.725	.970	.858
South Atlantic	1,184	.645	.875	.861
East South Central	655	.769	.866	.683
West South Central	825	.584	.771	.735
Pacific	350	.547	.818	.671

Source: See Table 33.

Careful detailed examination of the data on village population growth or decline on which the foregoing discussion has been based shows that changes in population seem to be associated with the age of villages, their functions and environmental relationships. The older villages change least. Villages in suburban areas tend to show increases; also villages in resort areas, although the increases are less; while villages in industrial areas are more likely to show decreases. It is also apparent that villages in agricultural areas with relatively unchanging populations are in regions where agriculture itself appears to have reached, at least for the present,

[1] *Cf.* Fry, C. Luther, *American Villagers* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1926) chapter iii.

a relatively unchanging condition. Villages were likely to grow, on the other hand, in regions where agriculture was changing in type from a less to a more intensive form of culture, or from general farming to dairying, to fruit growing or to truck raising. Conversely, villages tend to decline in population in areas changing from many small to fewer large holdings operated by fewer families.

An examination of the evidence for the 8,900 villages of all types and also for the sample of agricultural villages, therefore gives no support to the theory that the American villages as a class are a disappearing or a declining population type. That is not to say that some villages with their communities do not decline or even disappear. But the evidence indicates that hundreds of villages grow and that thousands hold their own in the general growth of the total population. This is a fact of much importance to school men, church men and other social servants concerned with selecting proper centers for the rural services of their agencies, as well as to those interested in the rural retail market. To achieve either growth or stability, villages must obviously perform useful functions not only for those who are resident in the village itself but for those who live in its larger community area.

Chapter IV

COUNTRY AND VILLAGE RELATIONS

ONE of the significant trends of the period under study is the closer relationship existing between the open-country and villages. The country, as the preceding chapters have indicated is undergoing changes and is adapting its life, its occupations and its social and economic organizations to meet the newer conditions. Though it is definitely attempting to maintain an identity of its own in many regards, yet it is likewise tending more and more to acquire a greater concord with the nearby village.

Similarly the tendency for villages, especially agricultural villages, to grow at about the same rate as the total population has been shown. A basis has thus been laid for a discussion of the changing relations of country and village which will follow three main lines.

First, is the matter of changes in the industries and occupational arrangements of villages, especially agricultural villages. The question is: are villages modifying their own functions in the enlarged relationship with the country?

The second question concerns changes in the service areas surrounding the village. Are villages expanding or contracting their various service contacts with the open country?

Third, a study of relationships must go further and examine the activities, the organized contacts and the interplay of village and country people. In other words, there is not only a geographic or locality basis for country-village relations, but also what may be termed a psychological one, as well as an organizational or associational basis. Therefore, some of the more general features and activities engaging both village and country people will be discussed briefly in the final section of this chapter, while those more highly organized relations of merchandising, education, religion, sociability, welfare, and government will be considered in succeeding separate chapters after the enlarged rural and urban relations are considered.

Adjustments of Village Occupations and Industries.—The first approach to the changing country and village relations concerns the changes or adjustments of village occupations and industries. Are the changes of a sort that make for closer integration with the country, or are they such as to make the village more independent of its country surroundings? For an examination of such changes in agricultural villages

the sample of 177 villages, the population characteristics of which have been described in Chapter I, was chosen.

Occupational Changes in Agricultural Villages.—It is interesting to find, first of all, that almost every other person living in the 177 villages who has passed ten years of age is gainfully employed; about three-fourths of the males, and more than one-fifth of the females. Table 35 indicates that the total number of employed males increased 9.1 percent between 1920 and 1930. For the females, the increase was 21.0 percent and the

TABLE 35.—GAINFULLY EMPLOYED MALES AND FEMALES, BY PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION,—177 VILLAGES

Occupation	Males			Females		
	Number employed		Percent of change	Number employed		Percent of change
	1920	1930		1920	1930	
All occupations	63,244	69,030	+ 9.1	17,626	21,332	+21.0
Agriculture	9,968	8,931	−10.4	480	488	+ 1.7
Manufacture*	22,041	23,519	+ 6.7	2,943	2,790	− 5.2
Transportation	7,447	8,713	+17.0	665	737	+10.8
Trade	12,736	14,872	+16.8	1,754	2,069	+18.0
Professional	3,965	4,668	+17.7	3,618	4,528	+25.2
Domestic and personal	3,093	3,868	+25.1	6,098	8,205	+34.6
Clerical†	2,216	2,484	+12.1	1,936	2,425	+25.3
All other	1,778	1,975	+11.1	132	95	−31.8

* By census definition manufacture includes all artisans like carpenters, masons, seamstresses, and the like as well as those employed in industrial plants.

† The clerical category was abandoned by the United States Census in 1930, clerical workers being distributed over the other major categories. These figures were obtained in connection with the special tabulation made for the 177 agricultural villages.

types of occupations that accounted for most of this high increase were trade, 18 percent; professional service, 25 percent; domestic and personal service, 35 percent; and clerical service, 25 percent. Comparing all the types of occupations, domestic and personal service shows the greatest gain for both the men and the women. Of the two largest groups, trade and manufacturing, trade shows the larger increase, and for both males and females; while in manufacturing, there was an actual decline of 5 percent for females so employed.

Proportions of Those Employed in the Different Occupations.—The comparison of the changing proportions of all those employed by the various types of occupations, gives a somewhat better opportunity for observing the possible adjustments that the decade has seen than do the changes in the numbers of those employed. This is shown in Table 36.

Manufacturing tops the list for the males, but does not show tendencies to increase in the proportion so employed when 1930 is compared

TABLE 36.—DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED MALES AND FEMALES, BY REGION AND BY TYPE OF OCCUPATION,—177 VILLAGES

Occupation	Percentage distribution							
	Middle Atlantic		South*		Middle West		Far West	
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
	Males							
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	8.9	6.2	17.0	15.6	13.8	9.7	23.3	19.9
Extraction of minerals	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.6	1.8	1.1	0.7	1.4
Manufacture	47.3	44.6	30.6	31.0	33.8	33.9	31.6	30.2
Transportation	11.7	13.8	11.3	11.1	12.0	13.8	12.0	11.7
Trade	17.1	18.4	22.4	22.8	22.0	23.6	16.7	19.3
Public service	1.4	1.3	2.5	2.5	1.8	1.9	1.5	1.7
Professional service	5.8	6.8	6.3	6.7	6.7	7.2	5.8	6.1
Domestic and personal service	3.7	4.4	5.3	6.1	5.0	5.5	5.1	6.0
Clerical	3.9	4.0	4.0	3.6	3.1	3.3	3.3	3.7
	Females							
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	0.7	0.5	6.1	5.0	0.8	0.7	3.1	2.1
Extraction of minerals	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1
Manufacture	36.1	26.6	12.5	11.2	12.7	9.8	10.3	8.2
Transportation	3.7	3.4	2.2	2.2	4.6	4.4	4.9	3.9
Trade	6.6	8.2	7.7	7.2	11.8	11.6	13.8	12.5
Public service	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.2	1.1	0.7	1.0	0.6
Professional service	16.3	18.5	15.0	16.9	25.8	24.8	23.8	25.5
Domestic and personal service	24.9	29.2	49.2	49.7	30.4	35.0	29.2	34.1
Clerical	11.5	13.5	6.8	7.6	12.8	13.0	13.9	13.0

* Includes both white and negro.

with 1920. Domestic and personal service is high for the females, and is tending to increase. In general terms, the proportions of all persons, male and female, employed in manufacturing and agriculture have declined; while those engaged in trade, transportation and the professional and personal services have increased. The South shows very little variation during the ten years, 1920 to 1930; and while the Middle Atlantic region is high in manufacturing, the proportions employed are diminishing. The same general trends are in evidence among the women workers, considered separately, though they are not as clear-cut as among the men. The women also increased their proportional strength in personal and domestic service in all regions, and in clerical work in the Middle Atlantic and South.

Four Occupations, Characterize Function of Villages in Country Life.—Four occupations in agricultural villages therefore stand out as of

major importance, and characterize in rather definite fashion the role of villages in country life. These are manufacturing, trade or merchandising, agriculture and transportation; and in that order. Since manufacturing comes first as measured by numbers and proportions of those employed, its internal changes will be given special attention in the next section of the chapter.

Trade has shown the greatest tendency to grow between 1920 and 1930, both in the total number and in the proportions so employed. This is an indication of the changing function of the village, and of its ability to hold retail business in the midst of greater competition. Chapter VI is to be given to a discussion of these important and changing relationships of village and country.

Decline in agriculture as a village occupation is not evidence of fewer farmers living in villages, but probably of the greatly lessened demand for agricultural laborers owing to a greater use of machinery, and to difficulties in farming arising from the depression. Likewise an important factor in the situation was the taking of the census of 1930 in April when many village-dwelling agricultural laborers and operators were out at work on farms, whereas the 1920 count was taken in January when there was little active farm work going on.

Transportation has also shown a tendency toward increase in the total number employed and in the relative proportions of all workers for two of the four regions of the country; namely, the Middle Atlantic and the Middle West. In the other two, the proportions were almost the same for the two periods. The services of transportation epitomize in an excellent manner the function of the village in its larger community relations. First, there is assembling, then the shipping of food and other products in their original or processed state to the out-of-community consumers, many of whom are city dwellers. Second, there is the bringing into the community, then the distributing, of those articles required for direct consumption or in the processes of farming and of manufacturing.

Professional and personal services show an increase reflecting, in part at least, the greater concentration within the village center of the institutions and services required by the rural community. Schools are an example of the increased professional services. Likewise, of course, there was an increase in the types and numbers of personal service establishments, such as restaurants, beauty parlors, pressing and cleaning shops, and tourist service places, which if found at all in 1920 were there in much fewer numbers.

Manufacturing or Industrial Changes in Agricultural Villages.—As has been pointed out, manufacturing as found in the agricultural villages needs examination in greater detail to answer more fully the general question regarding the changing relations of village with country. Table 37 will bring the industrial changes into perspective.

TABLE 37.—DISTRIBUTION OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, BY REGION AND BY TYPE OF INDUSTRY,—140 VILLAGES

Type of industry	Percentage distribution									
	All regions		Middle Atlantic		South		Middle West		Far West	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Food and beverages	33.3	35.2	31.5	31.7	28.9	29.9	35.0	38.3	37.9	41.1
Textiles	3.4	4.5	7.6	7.2	3.4	6.6	1.7	3.3	0	0
Iron and steel	3.7	4.3	2.7	3.0	3.4	3.7	3.7	4.5	5.8	7.4
Lumber	14.1	14.0	18.5	21.5	22.9	20.4	7.5	8.2	11.7	6.3
Leather	1.1	0.8	3.8	1.8	0	0	0	0.8	0	0
Paper*	27.8	25.5	20.1	19.8	23.7	20.4	34.6	30.2	30.1	30.5
Chemicals	3.1	3.6	1.1	2.4	6.8	6.6	2.9	3.3	2.9	2.1
Stone	3.6	4.2	2.2	3.6	1.7	1.5	5.0	5.3	4.8	6.3
Tobacco	1.7	1.1	3.8	1.8	0	0	1.7	1.6	0	0
Transportation†	1.1	0.9	3.3	1.8	0.8	0	0	1.2	0	0
Miscellaneous	7.1	5.9	5.4	5.4	8.4	10.9	7.9	3.3	6.8	6.3

* Paper, according to Census definition, includes newspaper and printing establishments as well as paper mills, of which there were only a few.

† Transportation includes equipment.

This table is based upon field work done in 140 of the 177 agricultural villages in 1924 and again in 1930. Industries dealing with food stand out at once as the table is examined; and, more important, this group shows increases in every region. In the Middle Atlantic region the gain is relatively small, however, since other types of industries are relatively more numerous there. When the food group is combined with the lumber, paper mills, textile and tobacco groups, a total of over 60 percent is accounted for, and the direct association and interdependence with agriculture and forestry should not require elaboration.

Village Industrial Plants Small and Change Frequently.—Industrial plants in villages are, of course, characteristically small; and the field work comparisons show a high degree of turnover. By 1930, for example, one in four of the plants that existed in 1924 had closed its doors; but for every industry closed, 1.1 new ventures had been started. The net gains were due to large gains in the Middle West and especially in the South, and to small losses in the Middle Atlantic states and the Far West. The size of the plants and the effects of the industrial depression especially in the Far West, can be seen in Table 38 which shows the number employed by regions in 1930 as compared with 1924.

The difficulties of the latter year restricted a further source of village and country reciprocity; namely, full-time or part-time employment for members of farm families in the villages. In 1924, it was found that

TABLE 38.—REGULAR EMPLOYEES IN FACTORIES AND PERCENT OF FACTORIES EMPLOYING SPECIFIED NUMBERS, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Average number employees		Percent factories employing							
			Less than 10		10 to 50		50 to 100		100 and over	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	31	22	54.2	61.4	30.7	26.8	8.5	6.5	6.6	5.3
Middle Atlantic	40	28	41.2	54.0	33.1	28.8	13.5	9.3	12.2	7.9
South	19	31	50.7	60.5	40.0	24.7	6.7	6.2	2.6	8.6
Middle West	16	15	70.2	67.6	24.2	25.8	3.5	3.3	2.1	3.3
Far West	62	13	52.1	63.9	27.7	27.9	10.1	8.2	10.1	0.0

Based on 437 plants in 1924 and 432 in 1930.
Base slightly less than 100 for the South and the Far West.

12.7 percent of those regularly employed in the village industries were country residents, while in 1930 the proportion had fallen to only 7.2 percent. The Far West, however, showed a reversed tendency (14.1 percent in 1924 and 27.1 percent in 1930). Part-time opportunities for employment in village industries are still numerous. For example, canneries of various kinds and fruit packing plants often employ up to 1,000 extra hands during rush periods; and at such times boys, girls and married women of both country and village are employed. Local merchants reported that much of the money so earned up to and including 1929 was spent for luxuries or semi-luxuries, labor saving equipment, or home furnishings.

Variations by Size, Growth, and Distance from Cities.—The size of villages and their tendency toward growth or decline make for certain variations in occupational and industrial relations. In the small villages (under 1,000 population) there is less male employment in manufacturing and, except in the Far West, more in agriculture. Among the females there is less personal and domestic service and, again excepting the Far West, a greater proportion in the professional services. There are fewer industries in the small villages; but relatively more of the artisans are located there.

Comparisons were made for those villages that grew in population more rapidly than the national rate of 16.1 percent from 1920 to 1930 and those that declined 10 percent or more for the period. The variations were not so great as one might have expected, although in the growing villages 73.4 percent of the males and 21.0 percent of the females ten years of age or older were employed, while in the declining group the percentages were 71.2 percent and 19.0 percent, respectively. The growing villages had a slightly larger proportion employed in manufacturing, especially among the females, and a somewhat smaller proportion in

trade and transportation. Increase in industrial establishments seems to be associated with growth; for the 27 villages in the growing class as defined above, although they lost 17 plants between 1924 and 1930, gained 36 others, giving them a total of 125 at the end of the period. The declining 19 villages had 60 plants in 1924, lost 19 and gained 11.

A comparison was made for the villages that were under twenty-five miles, from twenty-five to fifty miles, and over fifty miles from cities classed in four size-groups, as follows: under 10,000 population, from 10,000 to 25,000, under 25,000, and 25,000 and above. There was an increase in the number of industries in all villages located beyond the fifty mile zone from the cities. This increase was most pronounced in the case of cities from 10,000 to 25,000 population. The net gain in the zone beyond fifty miles was 36 plants between 1924 and 1931; while in the other two zones of under twenty-five miles and twenty-five to fifty miles, there were net losses of 16 and 25, respectively.

Village Occupations Compared with City Occupations.—As a final step in the examination of occupational and industrial characteristics of agricultural villages, comparisons with medium sized cities were made. The region by region comparisons show clearly that the city has higher proportions of both its men and its women engaged in manufacturing, while the village has proportionately more of both sexes in agriculture. Likewise in the village a greater proportion of men are in merchandising and more of both sexes are professionally employed than in the city.

All of the discussion on village occupations and industry indicates that the village is becoming more and more linked with the country on the one hand, and with the city of the other. It is specializing, first, on the task of assembling and processing the products of the country and then of transporting them on to the city consumer; and, second, on distributing to the country such city products as are needed for village and country consumption or for the growing and manufacturing of local products. In addition, the village is supplying an increasing proportion of the personal and professional services required by the whole country and village community.

Changes in Service Areas Surrounding Villages.—Tendencies of villages either toward growth or toward a degree of stability in population have been noted. Tendencies toward specialization in those occupational and industrial services associated with the country have been seen. It is therefore important to observe the ways in which such functions or services do tie village and country together, and to examine the changes in the areas of influence or the extent of tributary territory surrounding villages. There is a growing tendency for such services as trade, education, religion, and recreation to be organized about the village as a center.[1]

[1] The data with which this section of the chapter deals were secured from field work in the 140 villages, the 21 counties, and the 5 intensively surveyed counties referred to in the Introduction.

Changes in the General Community Areas.—As a first measure of the changes in country areas tributary to a village, a general community boundary line was drawn. It was made to include that area from which a majority of the country people came for a majority of their services, as education, trade, recreation and so on. The line so drawn might or might not represent the extent of any one particular service or institution; in fact, it usually did not. Rather, it represented a general or modal situation against which any particular service area could be compared. Much careful work was done to make the results of the various restudies comparable with the earlier studies.[1]

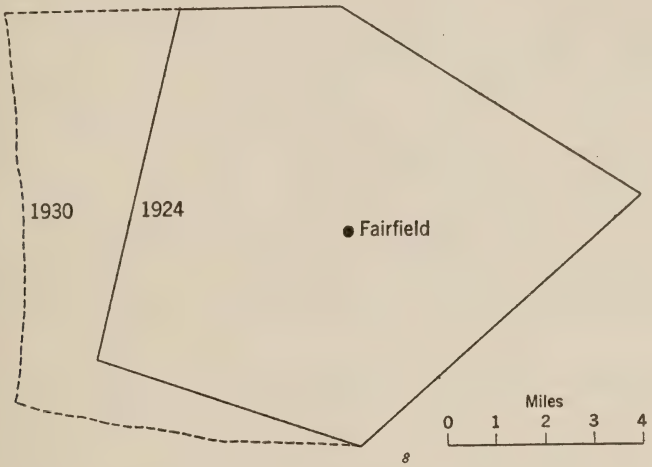

FIG. 8.—Community area of Fairfield, Nebraska, 1924 and 1930.

In general it may be said that a sort of equilibrium or balance in the general service area of villages seemed to have been attained. The explanation was consistently made that there had been good roads for quite a time and that the automobile was no longer a novelty, at least for a majority of people; therefore, village and country relations had "settled down." This cannot be taken to mean that the character of the contacts has remained little changed. On the contrary, trade played less of a part and social contacts more in the determination of the general community boundaries than at the time of the earlier surveys. Variations due to size of village and to kind of services were likewise more important than formerly.

Community Areas Illustrated by the 140 Village Comparisons.—The results of the restudies in the 140 village areas give the basis for the preceding conclusion that general community areas in a majority of cases are not changing significantly. The map of the Fairfield, Nebraska,

[1] For a detailed discussion of the method employed see Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927) chapter ii, which also contains a series of maps for selected villages giving community and specific service areas as found in 1924.

community area for 1924 and for 1930 illustrates the method as well as the general results.

It must be said, however, that the task of locating general community areas in the 1930 restudy proved more difficult than in the earlier study in about three-fifths of the cases. A number of explanations account for the difficulty. Changing habits of trade were pronounced. Old boundaries were crossed more frequently. Country people evidenced less loyalty to a particular center and more to the institutions involved. There was more "shopping around," the merchants would say. Nevertheless it was possible to map and to analyze changes that were taking place.

On the other hand, in about one-fourth of the cases field workers reported that it was easier to trace the general boundaries; and in about one-sixth there seemed to be little difference. In both these cases it seemed apparent that the villages were making more successful adjustments to changing conditions. Larger proportions of farmer business were being received; and the merchandising methods were noted as being more progressive and better adapted to the local needs.

Changes in the general community areas, as measured by the method described above, are presented in Table 39. The number of communities whose general areas increased, decreased, or remained relatively unchanged are detailed in the same table. During the six-year period, 39

TABLE 39.—CHANGES IN GENERAL COMMUNITY AREAS FROM 1924 TO 1930, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Small villages Community area			Medium villages Community area			Large villages Community area		
	Smaller	Same	Larger	Smaller	Same	Larger	Smaller	Same	Larger
All regions	3	32	11	3	39	16	6	18	12
Middle Atlantic	0	10	4	0	10	0	0	3	1
South	0	7	2	2	5	3	2	5	4
Middle West	3	11	4	1	19	10	4	5	3
Far West	0	4	1	0	5	3	0	5	4

Minor changes in area were not considered significant. No village was considered to have changed its area unless the gain or loss was two square miles or more. The minor gains somewhat outnumbered the minor losses.

of the 140 village-community areas had been expanded while 12 had been contracted; but, more important, 89, a three-fourths majority, had not changed significantly. One-fifth of the small, over one-fourth of the medium, and one-third of the large village communities had expanded their areas.

Coming to a more exact statement in terms of square miles, the comparisons are found in Table 40. The increases in areas clearly outweigh

TABLE 40.—SIZE OF THE AVERAGE COMMUNITY AREA, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE, 140 VILLAGES

Region	Square miles per community area							
	All villages		Small villages		Medium villages		Large villages	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
Middle Atlantic	47	50	38	43	46	46	80	87
South	99	108	63	77	106	111	127	146
Middle West	101	114	82	96	96	113	145	148
Far West	240	251	119	121	346	365	213	223

the decreases; so, with one exception, the average areas for villages of all sizes and in every region showed expansions ranging from 2 percent to nearly 20 percent. The usual expansion, however, was not really large, the average for all being 8.8 square miles.

The less intensive restudy of 21 counties, distributed over the whole country, was made as a check on the study of the 140 village communities. The years of comparison were 1920 and 1930. With their 70 villages of under 1,000 people, 26 villages of over 1,000, and 292 hamlets of less than 250, an opportunity was given for observing a wider range of contiguous territory and of studying the interaction of different types and sizes of service centers upon one another. In both the villages over and under 1,000 population, the gains in areas outnumbered the losses. In the case of the hamlets, however, the losses predominated, though by only about 4 percent. In all villages, however, the really significant conclusion was the relatively unchanged situation which prevailed in well over 50 percent of the cases. (See Figure 9.)

Variations in Areas Associated with Size and Growth of Villages.—Of the changes that were discovered, the most important was the shrinkage of a considerable minority of the areas of hamlets and very small villages. This phenomenon, however, was regional. It was best illustrated by the restudy of Otsego County, New York, after ten years. It became necessary in this restudy to divide the village and hamlet centers into two classes; because the country relationships in the two cases were really different. Different types of services were being performed.

For the first group, the areas were determined by such services as groceries, work clothes, auto repairs, poultry and egg marketing, church and home bureau. Of 43 such centers in 1920, only 37 were found in 1930 and 26 of them had fewer than 500 inhabitants. Only three of them had changed materially the extent of their country areas; two were smaller and one was somewhat larger. For the second group of centers, the services of hardware, high school, lodge, physician, bank and women's ready-to-wear clothing were used in arriving at areas. Thirteen such secondary centers were located in 1930, and all but two were over 500 in population.

FIG. 9.—Location of the 21 counties surveyed.

In Dane County, Wisconsin, of 22 villages and hamlets under 500 population for which direct comparisons were possible between 1920 and 1930, there were only three that had increased their general community areas over two square miles, and they were all between 490 and 500 in population in 1920, while in 1930 two were in the 500-or-over class. Of the 22 places, 9 had lost more than two square miles of country area. On the other hand, of the 15 villages between 500 and 2,500 population in 1920 which served country areas within the county, 9 had increased their general areas over two square miles.

Likewise in the cases of the larger sample of 21 counties, it was evident that the very small villages and the hamlets had gradually narrowed down their service institutions to about two or three stores, a garage, a grade school, one or two churches, and perhaps a grange or lodge hall. The school and church areas were inclined to remain about the same or to increase a little, due to consolidations in both kinds of institutions. Medical service had largely passed to the larger centers, as had such types of stores as hardware, furniture and clothing. Tradesmen and artisans had moved to larger centers, taking their clientele with them. This same tendency toward specialization was observed in the other villages, even those of medium and large size, as they were attempting to make similar adjustments with nearby small cities.

In the case of the 140 villages, of the 27 that increased in population over 16.1 percent between 1920 and 1930, which was the national rate of gain, there were six that expanded their general community boundaries. Two were smaller. Of the 19 villages with a population decreasing 10 percent during the same period, only one had materially enlarged its area and two were smaller. Distances of villages from cities did not seem to influence materially their community areas.

Variations in Areas Associated with Types of Services.—A significant change was noted in a number of the restudies to the effect that the social relations within the community areas were becoming more important. The economic service of the various forms of merchandising were less definitive in drawing community boundaries, as has been noted before. It is now more a question of the volume of the trade, its character and its regularity than of area of service. The increased importance of the social relations may be due to the fact that at the time of the earlier field studies there did not seem to exist such free intermingling of farmers and villagers in church, in school, especially high school, and in social functions. In every region, and by every method of study, came the report that the high school was the most important single factor gauging village-country relations and areas. This is an important finding, and will receive more attention in the later discussion. Variations from the general community boundary on the part of such services as banking, hardware merchandising and high-school area are shown by the map of Boonville, New York.

It must also be recorded that in the 1930 restudy, as in the 1924 study, county-seat villages assumed added importance.[1] Their service areas were larger and frequently were better defined. Their governmental functions tended to attract other functions. The newspaper with wide county circulation was quite likely to be located there.

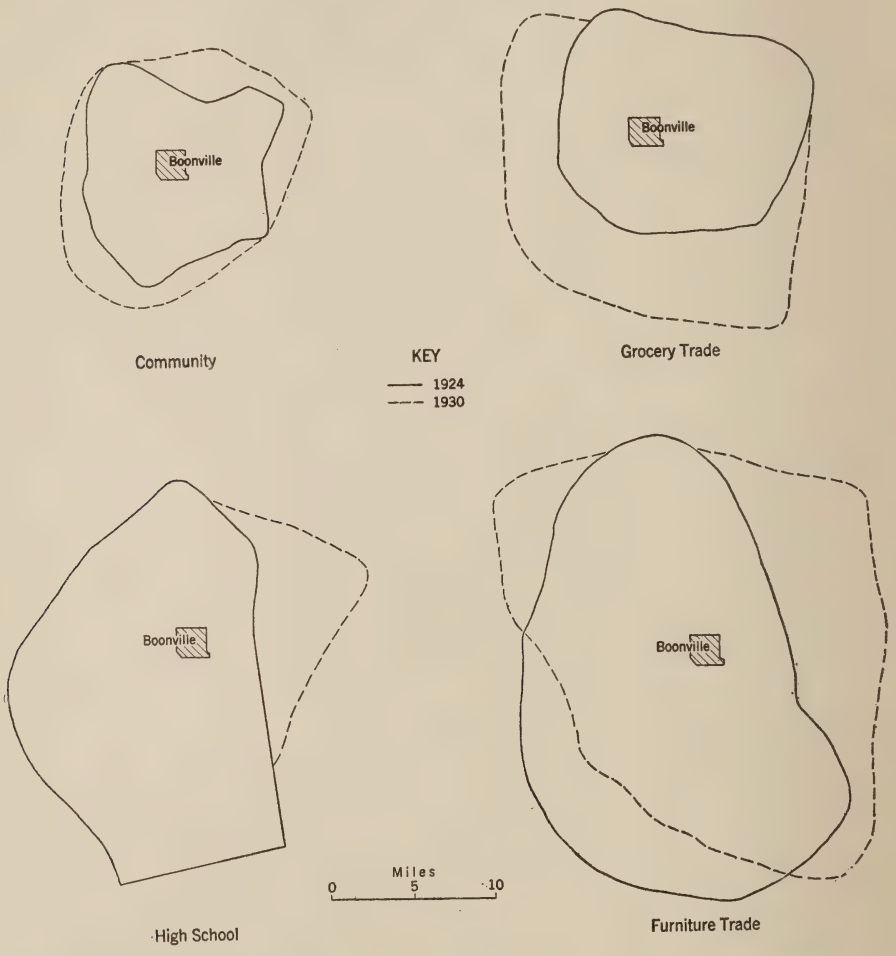

FIG. 10.—Community and trade areas of Boonville, New York, 1924 and 1930.

One detailed study will illustrate the matter of variations of areas associated with types of service. In Walworth County, Wisconsin, a study was made of the changes in seven types of services over a period of 15 years for 12 centers of less than 3,500 population in 1930. Table 41 gives the results.

[1] Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927), Tables IX, XIV and XV, pp. 54–62.

TABLE 41.—CHANGES IN SIZE OF SERVICE AREAS FOR TWELVE CENTERS IN WALWORTH COUNTY, WISCONSIN, BY TYPE OF SERVICE

Service	Square miles 1914	Square miles 1929	Expansion 1929 over 1914	Contraction 1929 over 1914	Net change 1914 to 1929	Percent net change
Library	134.5	327.2	213.0	20.3	192.7	143.3
Milk marketing	235.3	385.3	194.7	44.7	150.0	63.7
High school	225.4	335.2	149.4	39.6	109.8	48.7
Groceries	509.1	623.1	171.9	57.9	114.0	22.4
Churches	317.0	352.0	113.2	78.2	35.0	11.0
Dry goods	534.9	569.5	118.1	83.5	34.6	6.5
Banking	578.8	596.5	94.0	76.3	17.7	3.1

Source: Field work and intensive study of Walworth County, Wisconsin.

Library service shows the greatest percentage of net change in service area; but, after all, it still has a relatively small area of service. Banking, on the other hand, has changed its area least; but has a large expanse of service in terms of square miles. From this study, because of the longer period of time involved, and from the other intensive restudies, it is evident that the overlapping between service areas is on the increase. Areas of change during the fifteen-year period in this county are shown by Figure. 11.

Although the farmer, as well as the villager, does tend to use several service centers, he goes to each as a rule only for some specific service or services, attracted by the specialized efforts of the merchant or institution he patronizes. This tendency toward specialization as shown by the variations in the relationships associated with the various types of services, as well as with the sizes of the centers, places rather definite restrictions upon too great an emphasis regarding *the* rural (village-country) community. Certain types of service do tend to cumulate in certain kinds of centers; but there is little evidence pointing to the complete self-sufficiency of any one type of rural community.

Relation of Neighborhoods to Village-country Communities.—It is important to relate country neighborhoods to the general concept of village and country areas. The 1930 restudy of the 140 communities showed, as did the 1924 study, that neighborhoods were inclined to show greater vitality at some distance from the more rapidly growing and the larger village centers. Distance continues to play a part in neighborhood affairs. As a growing village center draws more and more services to itself, there seems to be a demand arising among country people for some more local and convenient centers close at hand to supply especially some of the social services, and likewise a few of an economic sort.

This tendency was noticed in the earlier study; but has become clearer with the passing of the years. In a number of the Far West communities, it almost seemed as though some of the farm leaders had definitely

reached the point of deciding what they wanted supplied at the village center and what they determined to keep in the neighborhood. One such leader urged that farmers must maintain "a real sense of possession and control" over at least the services of recreation for both youth and adults, religious education for the youth, some forms of adult education,

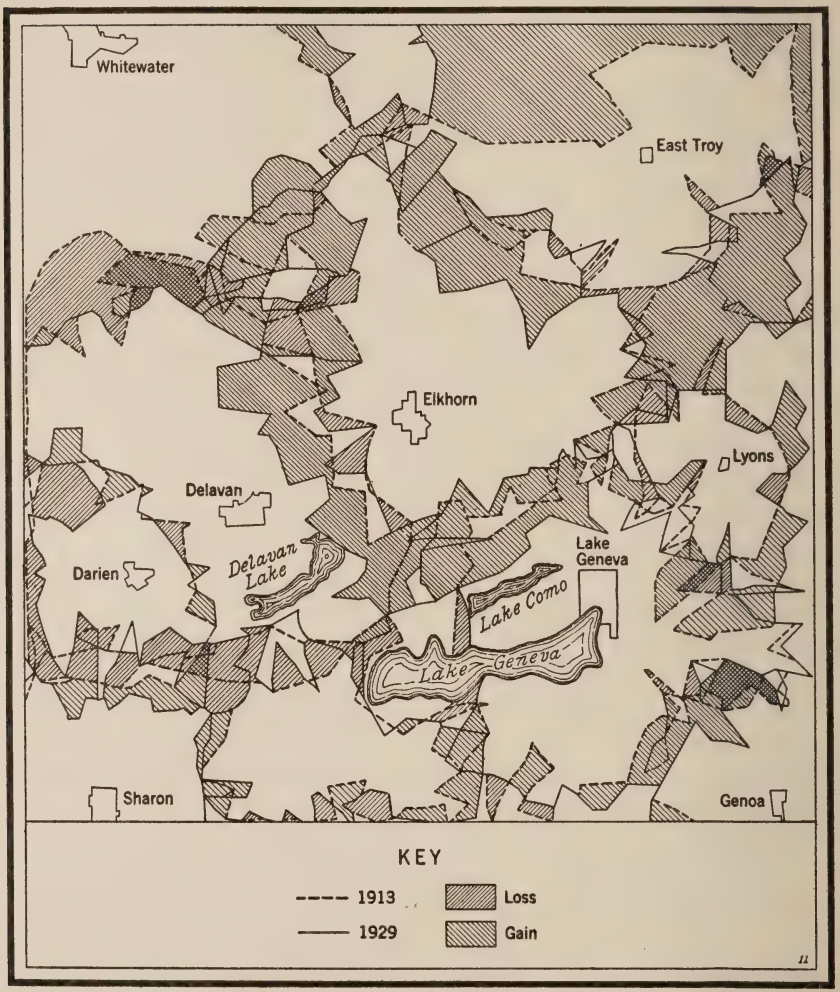

FIG. 11.—Changes in general trade areas in Walworth County, Wisconsin, 1914 to 1929.

and of the coöperative marketing of produce and purchasing of supplies. If this could be done advantageously with the villages, this leader would be satisfied, but if distances were too great and the "possession or control" were to be lost, he would insist that the services be organized on the neighborhood basis, with such coöperation with villages or other neighborhoods as was required.

There can be no doubt that country people are anxious, and in many places the evidence shows are determined, to maintain at least some measure of local social or group identity, either by maintaining and remodeling old forms of organizations or by building up the new.

There was a slight tendency for more neighborhoods to persist or to appear and for them to be somewhat larger in the community areas of the large village communities, as Table 42 indicates.

TABLE 42.—NEIGHBORHOODS, AVERAGE NUMBER AND POPULATION, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Neighborhoods of											
	Small villages				Medium villages				Large villages			
	Av. no.		Av. pop.		Av. no.		Av. pop.		Av. no.		Av. pop.	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	3.0	2.9	129	128	3.8	3.1	132	134	4.0	3.2	131	164*
Middle Atlantic	3.4	2.9	105	94	4.3	3.9	142	142	5.0	4.0	110	78
South	5.1	4.9	175	141	5.5	3.3	151	91	4.5	2.3	128	217
Middle West	2.4	2.1	100	125	3.2	2.8	124	128	2.9	2.6	114	141
Far West†	1.6	1.6	105	239	3.8	2.9	115	194	4.3	4.8	161	183

* If one very large Mexican neighborhood is deducted, this figure would be 150 and the average population for the neighborhoods of the large villages in the South would be 147.

† Several of the Far West totals differ slightly from figures published for a former survey, due to undetected typographical errors.

In the Far West, the population of neighborhoods tended to increase for all sizes of villages between 1924 and 1930. In the South, and to a less degree in the Middle Atlantic region, the effects of the disintegrating forces were much more in evidence, indicating that probably a still further reduction in the number of neighborhoods could be expected in these regions.

This tendency for neighborhoods to appear in the larger village-community areas was quite marked in the restudy of the 21 counties; especially were neighborhoods likely to be found near the fringes of the larger county-seat community areas. They were likewise quite sure to appear at a distance of perhaps 4 or 6 miles from small cities of about 8,000 to 15,000 population. Frequently such local centers represented hamlets that had settled back to little more than a crossroad-center status; or they may have been small villages slipping down into the functions of hamlet centers. In either case they were losing services to the cities; but especially in the East, or in industrial sections, they were gaining the residences of a few commuters.

There was also a slight tendency for those communities with the growing villages to maintain their neighborhoods to a greater degree than those communities in which the villages were decreasing in population. For example, the rate of decline in the number of neighborhoods was 9.8 percent in the communities whose villages increased at more than the national rate between 1920 and 1930, when one exceptional case of a Texas community was omitted. In comparison, the rate of decline was 13.0 percent in those communities whose village population declined 10 percent or more during the same period. The neighborhood's share or proportion of the population within the whole country-village community is shown in Table 43.

TABLE 43.—RESIDENCE OF COMMUNITY POPULATION AND RATIO OF COUNTRY TO VILLAGE POPULATION, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Total population		Percentage living in						Ratio of country population to village	
			Village		Neighborhoods		Country outside of neighborhoods			
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	All villages									
Middle Atlantic	73,358	76,083	43.0	43.9	19.4	13.9	37.6	42.2	132.5	128.0
South	129,787	143,452	31.0	29.0	18.5	10.4	50.5	60.6	228.1	239.4
Middle West	180,059	177,426	44.2	44.6	11.3	11.2	44.5	44.2	129.1	124.4
Far West	75,170	85,151	45.9	41.5	14.5	16.7	39.6	41.8	118.4	142.0
	Small villages									
Middle Atlantic	28,702	27,784	37.2	41.6	17.3	13.9	45.5	44.5	168.7	140.2
South	30,443	31,657	19.8	20.4	29.2	21.9	51.0	57.7	413.3	389.2
Middle West	32,576	33,345	41.5	41.1	13.8	14.3	44.7	44.6	147.1	143.4
Far West	8,963	9,795	37.1	30.7	14.1	19.5	48.8	49.8	170.0	226.0
	Medium villages									
Middle Atlantic	28,705	32,138	44.9	42.0	21.2	17.2	33.9	40.8	122.6	137.9
South	43,581	45,452	30.4	29.1	19.1	6.6	50.5	64.3	228.4	243.3
Middle West	91,624	88,161	42.9	43.4	13.0	12.3	44.1	44.3	132.8	130.7
Far West	25,601	26,899	38.4	33.8	13.4	16.6	48.2	49.6	160.6	195.4
	Large villages									
Middle Atlantic	15,951	16,161	49.9	51.3	13.8	7.8	36.3	40.9	100.3	94.9
South	55,763	66,343	37.6	32.9	12.4	7.5	50.0	59.6	173.9	203.8
Middle West	55,859	55,920	46.6	48.5	7.1	7.8	46.3	43.7	114.5	106.0
Far West	40,606	48,457	52.4	47.6	15.4	16.3	32.2	36.1	90.9	109.9

The table indicates that while the open-country population of the 140 communities increased slightly, the neighborhood proportion was somewhat less in 1930 than in 1924. The actual loss in the number of neighborhoods would make this inevitable. It can be suggested, therefore, that because of the increasing integration of the entire community about

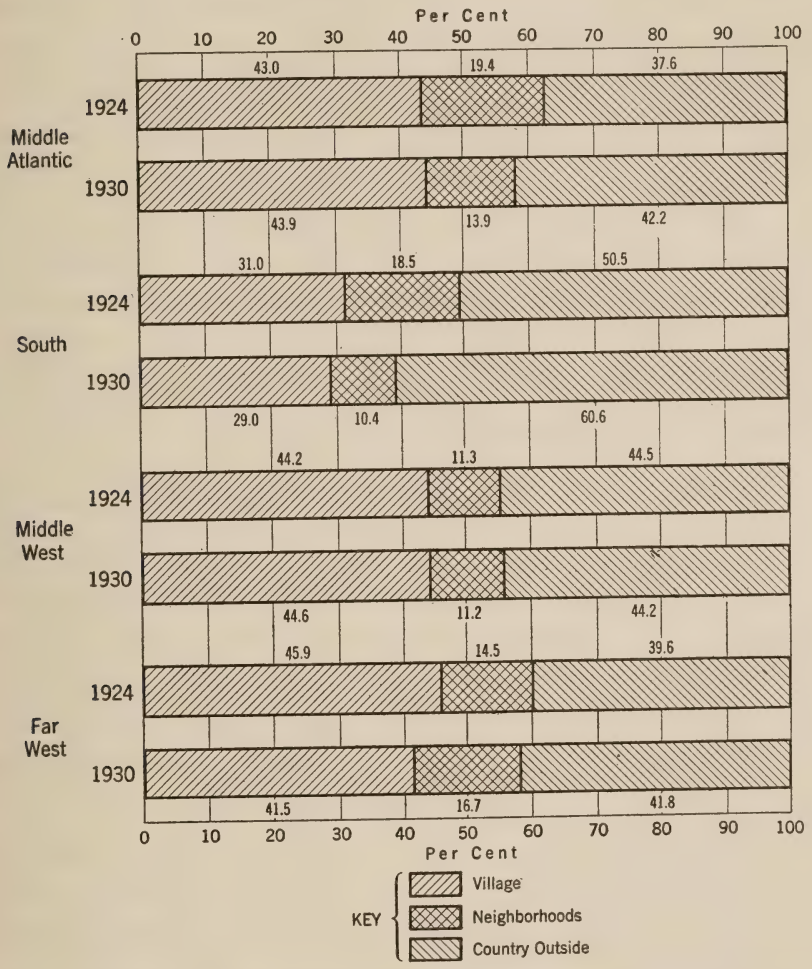

FIG. 12.—Distribution of community population in village, neighborhoods and country outside by region, 1924 and 1930, 140 villages.

the village, as shown in the present chapter, the neighborhoods are politically and economically less important in the larger community than they were some years ago. Socially they have come nearer to holding their own. Furthermore, in the settling-down process following road or other communicational improvements, some considerable proportion of neighborhoods have made their readjustments, have in a measure special-

ized their services and give every promise of persisting for some time to come.[1]

GREATER ASSOCIATION OF VILLAGE AND COUNTRY PEOPLE

To understand the changing relations of village and country, something more is needed than a demonstration of population growth and stability, or than an analysis of occupational and industrial changes from which adjustments in favor of local requirements seem evident. Something more is needed than a picture or a map of tributary territory which apparently indicates a degree of equilibrium gained in service relations of village and country. A more important question is regarding the people themselves. What are they doing? What are they thinking about? Are villagers and open-country dwellers coöperating, or are they in conflict? In other words, what is taking place in the matter of associations within the general structure of country and village relations? In this final section of the chapter, brief descriptions of this changing life will be given. They will not only be brief, but of necessity they must be general and rather inexact. Many of the more subtle forms of human association do not lend themselves readily to map making or to tabular expression. They are, however, of signal importance in any planning for the future.

The associations of trade or merchandising as determinants of the general community boundaries were rather less important in the restudy, as has been suggested. But the social considerations were more important; especially education, for in place after place the high school was reported as being the factor that was uniting village and country in many mutual interests. Another evidence of the closer social relationships is the increasing proportions of country memberships in various social organizations, both formal and informal, which center largely in the village. The associations through these means of educational and of social organizations will be discussed in the chapters given entirely to these two sets of institutions.

Joint Enterprises, Favorite Form of Uniting Village and Country.—A third form of association is to be found in the increased number of joint projects undertaken by village and country together. These will be described here.

Community Fairs.—One of the most popular of the joint projects, especially in the Middle West, the Far West, and the Middle Atlantic regions, was the general community fair. In many instances these fairs, or festivals as they are sometimes called, were quite ambitious enterprises drawing the attendance of from 5,000 to 10,000 people and calling for

[1] The average distribution of the population of each community between village and total open country, together with the rate of gain or loss between 1924 and 1930, is shown in Appendix A.

the organization of many working committees. They were credited by the local leaders with bringing village and country people together on a mutual basis, and of eliminating divisions between factions, creeds and classes in both sections of the larger community.

The programs for these occasions frequently included a parade with floats, the best of which were given prizes; exhibits of agricultural products, livestock, field crops and garden truck and of the domestic arts of cooking, sewing and home decoration; athletic contests in which local groups competed; and special entertainment features given by representatives of various local organizations. In many instances there were special exhibits by the schools and by the various local clubs, especially the 4-H clubs. Stores were frequently closed and free entertainments given.

In such places farmers at first could not understand the departure from the earlier and more usual trade-catching devices; but, after several reassuring experiences, they gladly attended and soon assumed their proportionate share of responsibility for the whole enterprise.

Mutual Fire Protection.—One of the most practical of joint projects related to fire protection. One Pennsylvania village purchased an additional truck for rural service. The townships within its community area all made their contributions to the budget of the village fire department. Five other places accomplished the same end by organizing larger fire protection districts in which the village was included. This not only helped the farmer but gave increased equipment to the village which served in good stead in many an emergency. No instances of this sort of enterprise were encountered in the earlier studies of the 140 village communities in 1924. This kind of coöperation is important because many old-line insurance companies are not eager for rural business and surround it with many restrictions, such as refusing to insure farm property mortgaged above a certain percent of its supposed value, or of refusing to grant insurance to foreign-born farmers.

Activities of Organizations.—It is one thing to have individuals act jointly for the interests of the larger community; but it may be quite another for organizations to do so. Village and farm organizations have differing backgrounds, and there is frequently difficulty in sharing points of view. In the restudy there was evidence of an increasing interrelation of the memberships; that is, for example, farmers were found on rolls of village Chambers of Commerce or merchants were members of the Farm Bureau.

Joint meetings and enterprises were also found to be more general and more frequent than formerly. There were the joint dinners and joint picnics; and the various meetings such as institutes, entertainments, or fairs were sponsored jointly. Moreover, officers of village organizations seemed more concerned about their country communities than at the

time of the earlier study. To be sure, some of the concern was for their own business interests since the effects of the farmers' crippled buying power were everywhere apparent. On being questioned, these leaders would say, "We are beginning to see that the interests of the town and the country are the same." As proof that their assertions were more than words, they would point out the rearrangements in municipal buildings or libraries designed for the comfort of country visitors, the increased parking and street lighting facilities, or the more frequent band concerts and entertainment programs.

Estimates of Changes in Village-country Coöperation and Conflict.—Finally, there are here included the results of a real effort to estimate the changes taking place in the general coöperation and conflict situations in the 140 village-country communities. The same set of instructions was given field workers in both the 1924 and the 1930 studies. By the use of certain criteria they were asked to sum up for each place studied, the whole village and country relation situation under one of three main headings, "coöperative," "neutral" or "conflicting." To be sure, such a classification involved many factors of personal judgment; but regardless of this, the results point to significant changes. Table 44 gives the results in tabular form by the four regions.

TABLE 44.—VILLAGE AND COUNTRY RELATIONS, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Number of villages	Coöperative		Neutral		Conflicting	
		1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	140	27	100	89	34	24	6
Middle Atlantic	28	5	19	20	8	3	1
South	30	4	26	22	4	4	0
Middle West	60	9	41	37	16	14	3
Far West	22	9	14	10	6	3	2

In 1924 definite coöperation between country and village was reported in almost one-fifth of the cases, and real disagreements were found in almost one-sixth. A neutral situation prevailed in two-thirds of the places. This neutrality was characterized more by a sort of "watchful waiting" for trouble, a readiness to defend respective interests, than by efforts on the part of villagers and farmers to understand one another and to find bases for working together.

At the time of the first study, many villages seemed to be in a rather transitional stage, attempting to adjust themselves to needs of their country communities. Conflict, or at least a lack of coöperation, was easy to find where mutual dependence was but slightly recognized. This situation harks back, at least in some measure, to the fact that the village

form of agricultural economy common in most parts of the old world did not flourish in the rise of American rural life, save in New England and in some limited sections of the west. Separate farmsteads and separate villages of somewhat independent origin became the basis for the modern rural community. Coöperation was not always easy to acquire. The South, with its different history of settlement and type of agriculture, might be considered as something of an exception; but, as this and other chapters show, the same tendencies toward a greater degree of country and village association are also at work there.

In 1930 the "coöperative" class had increased to include practically three-fourths of the places, conflict situations had dropped to only six cases, while the middle or "neutral" class was cut down by considerably more than one-half. Taking into account the number of places in each of the four regions, there was really very little regional variation.

Coöperative Tendencies.—The increase in coöperative tendencies was reported as being a very real trend. Among the reasons for the changed attitudes may first be listed the effects of the agricultural and the industrial distress. Villagers seemed to have a better understanding of the farmers' problems than in the earlier years. In only a few places were farmers criticized as being lazy, inefficient or extravagant, which were familiar charges in 1924. Farmers, on the other hand, seemed to understand more fully than before that the village merchant also had his problems, problems which some had failed to solve and to which therefore they had succumbed. Consequently, a sense of mutual interest and mutual dependence seems to have emerged, at least in some places.

More frequent contacts made possible by the improvements of roads undoubtedly played their part. The greater use of the village as a center for certain kinds of activities and organizations had resulted. Moreover, in some places there was an increase in the number of farmers living in the village and at the same time working or at least managing their farms. Likewise an increased number of villagers had become owners of farms through foreclosure, inheritance or purchase. This experience had brought the difficulties in the agricultural situation close home to them.

In one-third of the communities in which the coöperative tendencies were on the increase, there was also evidence of an increase in the amount of country trade. Stores were more modern, and more up-to-date merchandising methods were in use. In an even larger number of cases, approximately two out of five, villagers and farmers were coöperating in a wide variety of projects, some of which have been described. In one community out of ten, coöperation was centered in the schools. It may have been in activities or projects associated with the consolidation of schools or the institution of departments of agriculture or home economics. Or, it may have been in athletics, literary, musical or dramatic events

planned in such a way as to appeal to the loyalty of the community as a whole.

Another factor in the changing situation relates to population movements. In some communities in which conflict had given way, there had been considerable of a turnover in the country population. Some who had been most dissatisfied with local conditions were reported to have moved away. Similarly, death and retirement had brought younger leaders to the fore, some of whom had attended the village high school and were on fraternal terms with those of their classmates who were now residents of the village. The story of a mid-western community is an interesting case in point. At the time of the earlier study, one section of the community contained a strong neighborhood entrenched by racial traditions and religious organizations and re-enforced by a good deal of physical isolation due to topography. There were few outside contacts, even the majority of the marriages had been confined to local associates. Many of the families were made up of people of about the same age, being sons and daughters of the original settlers. By 1930 the majority of these older families had retired to the nearby village. A road had been built over the ridge. Contacts with the village had greatly increased; to such an extent in fact, that the country church became affiliated with the village church in which the retired parents now held membership. The country church was not abandoned, but country and village were now one congregation. One father told with no evident symptoms of regret that he "had married off" five daughters and only one "had a man" of his own nationality and religious faith.

Conflict Tendencies.—All this is not to say that conflict has disappeared from these communities. Some have not achieved coöperation. Some seem to be hovering in the neutrality zone uncertain as to their future. Some, on the other hand, have actually reverted to conflict owing to the failure here and there of a mutual enterprise, as for example, the consolidating of schools.

Frequently, too, obstructions to improvement do not cut squarely according to village and country cleavages but follow other planes. Politics, for example, have caused many a conflict, especially when two local newspapers have existed in the same community for the avowed and published purpose of keeping alive the embers of strife. Consolidations, sales, and discontinuance of newspapers have done much to mollify this condition. Differences due to social or financial status, to traditional or to family backgrounds, continue to exist. In some communities visited in 1930, serious consequences followed in the wake of such traditional differences when crises such as bank failures, business bankruptcies, church and school consolidations, or emergencies following the financial crash of 1929, had to be met. In but a few instances, however, did the local situation become as involved, or as desperate, as was encountered

in some communities in 1924 owing to religious, racial and Ku Klux Klan conflicts.

A final observation in the matter of conflict tendencies is to the effect that local issues involving country and village relations can certainly be said to have caused much less trouble, and to have made many fewer cleavages than formerly. There can be no illusions, however, concerning real as well as potential conflict over some of the more general as well as fundamental issues that involve local villages and country, but which reach far back into the backgrounds of each. As an illustration of such possible tendencies, attention has been, or will be, called to the increasing control of local agencies and institutions by large overhead agencies. This is seen in cases of financing and credit institutions, of stores with chain or coöperative affiliations, of coöperative marketing associations, and even of schools, churches and newspapers.

Control of financial and service policies is more likely to depend upon issues, motives and circumstances far removed from the affairs of any single community. Many examples were encountered where local representatives of the centralized agencies could not, or did not, reconcile their actions with the expressed desires and declared needs of the locality. Bank managers were openly criticized for failure to meet local emergencies. Chain-store keepers were accused of having no concern regarding local problems of credit, the business men's association or social welfare. Superintendents of schools were charged with thinking more about conformance with regulations of aggressive state departments of education than of solving local problems growing out of the troublesome times.

On the other hand, certain issues were much less personal in character, because they extended back into a larger and less personal and absentee form of control. They were none the less real. For example, in one community, the local dairy concern had been taken over by one of the large consolidated companies. New regulations were imposed in a very impersonal manner. There seemed to be no visible opportunity for appeal; and an antagonistic attitude soon developed on the part of farmers, which many of the business men of the village shared.

This chapter, then, has shown an increasing degree of association between villagers and country people living contiguous to villages. This is evidenced by the considerable increase in the number of villagers employed in trade in 1930 as compared with 1920 and by the gain in the proportion of village industries concerned with processing farm products. It is apparent too in the enlarging areas of the social influence of the village in terms both of square miles and of population. Neighborhoods are a present but slowly declining factor in the village-centered community. There is far greater association than in 1924 of village and country people in a variety of projects, and a marked improvement in their relationships has resulted. Conflicts between the two are far less frequent

than in the first half of the 1920's, but the area of conflict has been transferred to relationships with the city and with non-resident sources of influence or control.

Thus the strands of country and village relations reach far back into the fabric of urban and national life. Issues of coöperation and of conflict become not merely local concerns, but involve a wider set of rural (country and village) and urban relations.

Chapter V

RURAL AND URBAN RELATIONSHIPS

THE study of country and village leads directly to a consideration of the rural, including both country and village, relations to urban centers. In a number of the earlier county studies, the influence of the city did not seem of so much importance; but in the restudies, it was a factor that obtruded in nearly every phase of the investigation. Rural-urban contacts of a direct sort, involving certain types of social and economic relations, have greatly increased; obviously because of the improved facilities for travel and communication. The indirect contacts to which reference has been made in the preceding chapter have likewise multiplied. These include not only radio, newspaper, advertising, but also those forms of control and policy-making that go with the linking of local association and social institutions, chain stores, and banks, with urban centralized headquarters serving states or larger districts.

Furthermore, just as the westward and urbanward migrations have affected the spatial arrangement of country, village and city, so this increased mobility of people has made for changes in the composition of the population as was noted in Chapter I. This has continued long enough so that certain differences in the characteristics of the urban and rural population have grown markedly less. Adjustment in matters of trade and types of agriculture, and in various social practices, have followed. City, village, and country have been brought closer together. Thus, just as villages have their service areas, so cities have their tributary territories.[1]

Rural and urban are thus becoming relative terms. The old census category of "rural" can itself now be subdivided into farm and non-farm elements, as the first chapter has indicated. In similar fashion, the term "urban" needs further differentiation. This tendency for rural and urban characteristics to shade into one another became more and more evident as the field work for the restudy of local communities progressed; and from all the evidence that could be marshalled it seemed the result of not any one influence such as the so-called urbanization of the country and village by the city, or the ruralization of the city by the country through the vast migration of country peoples into its borders, but

[1] Even the cities and their territories tend to form in constellations about the larger metropolitan centers, as other studies have shown. *Cf.* McKenzie, R. D., "*The Rise of Metropolitan Communities,*" chapter in *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933).

rather, the result of mutual and continual readjustments. To examine this process, which has hitherto received too little study, and the resulting relationships, the device was adopted of analyzing concentric zones or areas out from eighteen medium-sized city centers.[1] For convenience in securing data, the concentric zones were plotted on a county basis. All counties bordering that in which the city was located were designated as Tier One counties. All counties bordering on the first tier were called Tier Two counties and so on. The county containing the city or city county was treated as a whole, that is the city figures were included in the county totals.[2] In all, 347 counties, about 19 to each urban center, were studied. These are shown on Fig. 13. Counting in the cities, 10.2 percent of the population of the nation was included in this sample. In practically all indices used, the regional and national totals of this sample differed little if at all from the totals for entire divisions or for the nation as given in the United States census.

The plan of this chapter is to describe the gradient pattern of the relationships of the tiers to the city and demonstrate that this relationship exists in forms of selected data from the 1930 census and then, by using census data for 1910, 1920 and 1930, it will attempt to show the trends in the changing characteristics and relationships of the tiers of rural counties to the city. Attention should be drawn to the fact that literally hundreds of measures of indices were used in this study. Only the most important can be noted in this chapter. Regional differences and the changing trends in these differences will be noted where important. First, however, in order to make the process clear data on four items for a single sample city, Des Moines, Iowa, will be discussed.

[1] The population of these cities in 1930 ranged from 20,760 to 634,394. Three were less than 50,000 population. Six had between 50,000 and 80,000, five between 110,000 and 183,000 and four over 300,000. The cities were: Binghamton, New York; Columbia, South Carolina; Des Moines, Iowa; Fargo, North Dakota; Fort Worth, Texas; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Lincoln, Nebraska; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Montgomery, Alabama; Nashville, Tennessee; Pine Bluff, Arkansas; Portland, Oregon; Richmond, Virginia; San Francisco, California; Springfield, Illinois; Toledo, Ohio; Wichita, Kansas; Williamsport, Pennsylvania. With the exception of San Francisco, all metropolitan groups such as New York, Chicago, or Boston were omitted to avoid, as far as possible, complicating the story of rural-urban relationships by the factor of suburbanism.

[2] Whenever there was any doubt as to the tier number to be assigned to a particular county, the entire trade area was tiered by several people and the mean of their determinations selected. In the metropolitan area of San Francisco, in which San Francisco takes up all of the city county, and where a number of large cities are located in what would have been Tier One counties, all counties that would have been Tier One are designated as the City County tier and further tiering is begun from the assumption. In the Richmond area the independent city of Richmond, together with the counties of Henrico and Chesterfield, was considered to be the City County.

The location of the city centers and the distribution of the counties can be seen from Figure 13.

As a guide to how far out from the city county to go the wholesale grocery areas of the United States, published as a map supplement to the *Market Data Handbook* (United States Department of Commerce, 1929), were used.

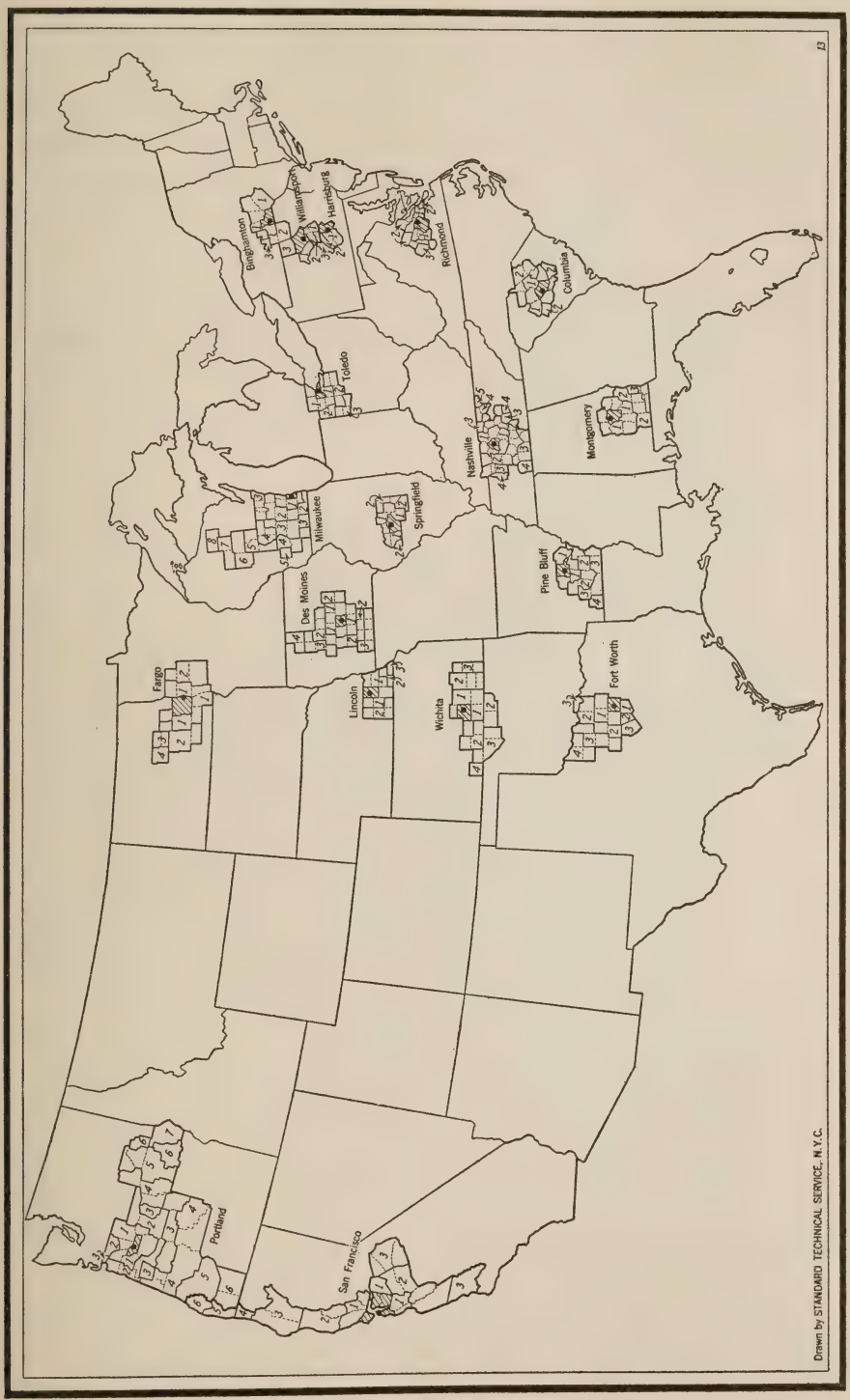

FIG. 13.—Location of the trade areas about 18 cities.

RURAL-URBAN GRADATIONS ILLUSTRATED BY A SINGLE AREA

For the purpose of illustrating the type of data and the two-fold comparison made in a single area one item has been selected from all the population data; a measure of fecundity, and one from agricultural

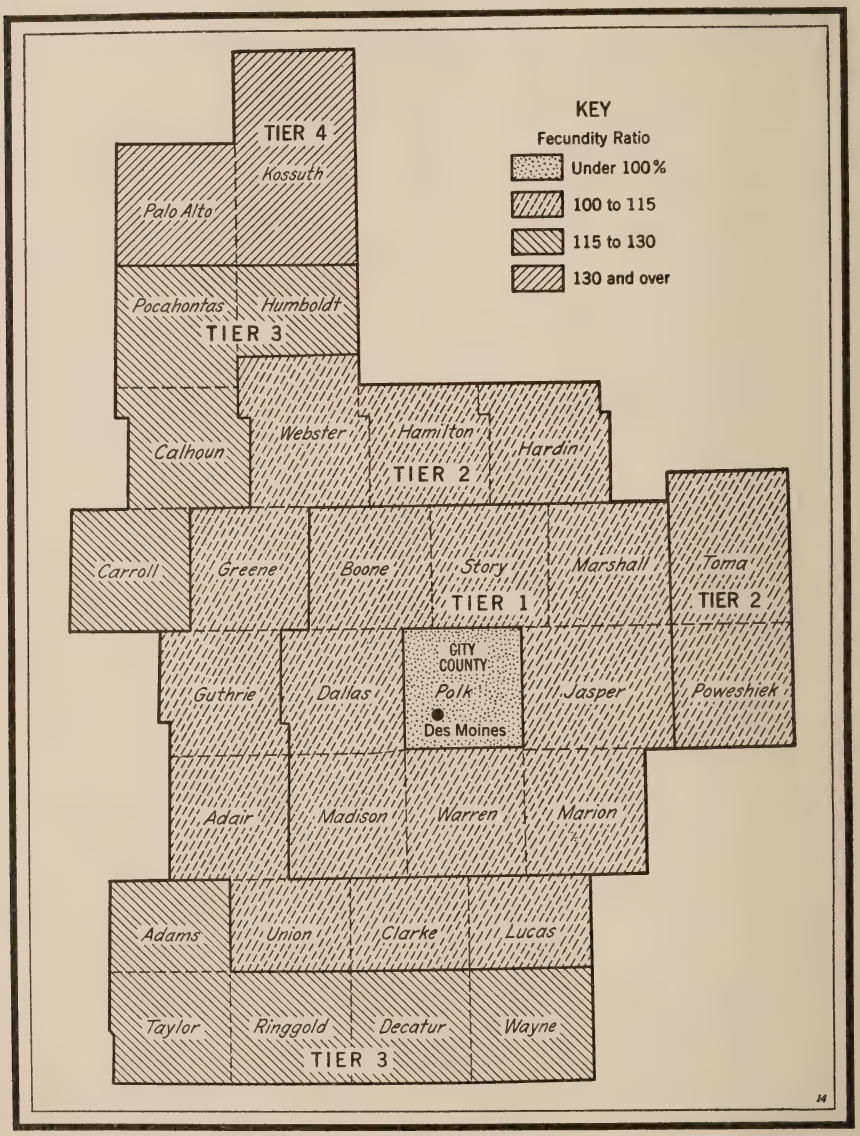

FIG. 14.—Fecundity ratios in the Des Moines area, by tiers of counties, 1930.

data—the value of field crops per acre. Fecundity may be measured by taking the ratio of children under ten to all women twenty to forty-five years of age.

The data for Des Moines show that this ratio is lowest in the City County and that it increases with each succeeding tier out from the City County. There appears to be a relationship between the birth-rate and the distance from the city of any measured unit of population, such as the people of a group of counties. This is illustrated in Figure 14.

Furthermore, as will be seen from Table 45, this relationship existed in the past. It was true in both 1910 and 1920. It is also clear that in all tiers, and in the City County, the ratio has been falling throughout the last twenty years. The points of difference between 1910 and 1930 are greater in the City County than in any tier of counties except Tier Four, though even here the proportionate decrease is not so great as in the city.

TABLE 45.—RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER TEN TO WOMEN 20 TO 45 YEARS OF AGE IN THE DES MOINES AREA, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
1910	87.2	119.7	120.1	131.9	153.9
1920	80.9	115.4	116.0	123.2	142.5
1930	78.9	107.4	109.6	118.9	135.4

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Population*, Vol. II; *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population*, Vol. III; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III, Part 1.

This comparison then shows a relationship between the urban county and those surrounding it, differing by tiers, in the operation of forces controlling the birth-rate. It also shows the same trend toward decline operating at different rates in the various tiers between 1910 and 1920.

Similarly, the value of field crops per acre, as given in Table 46, can be followed through. It will be seen that in the Des Moines area the per

TABLE 46.—VALUE PER ACRE OF FIELD CROPS IN THE DES MOINES AREA, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
1910	$11.33	$ 9.53	$ 8.73	$ 7.67	$ 6.84
1920	31.85	27.73	27.24	25.76	26.63
1930	17.70	14.29	13.59	12.58	15.12

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Agriculture*, Vol. VI; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Agriculture*, Vol. VI; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture*, Vol. I.

acre value of crops is highest in the city county, and that it decreases with distance in the first three tiers, as is shown in Figure 15.

The story of the agricultural prosperity culminating in 1920 and the following and continuing depression is told in these figures. Each of these cases, therefore, tells a story of relationship in terms of distance and one

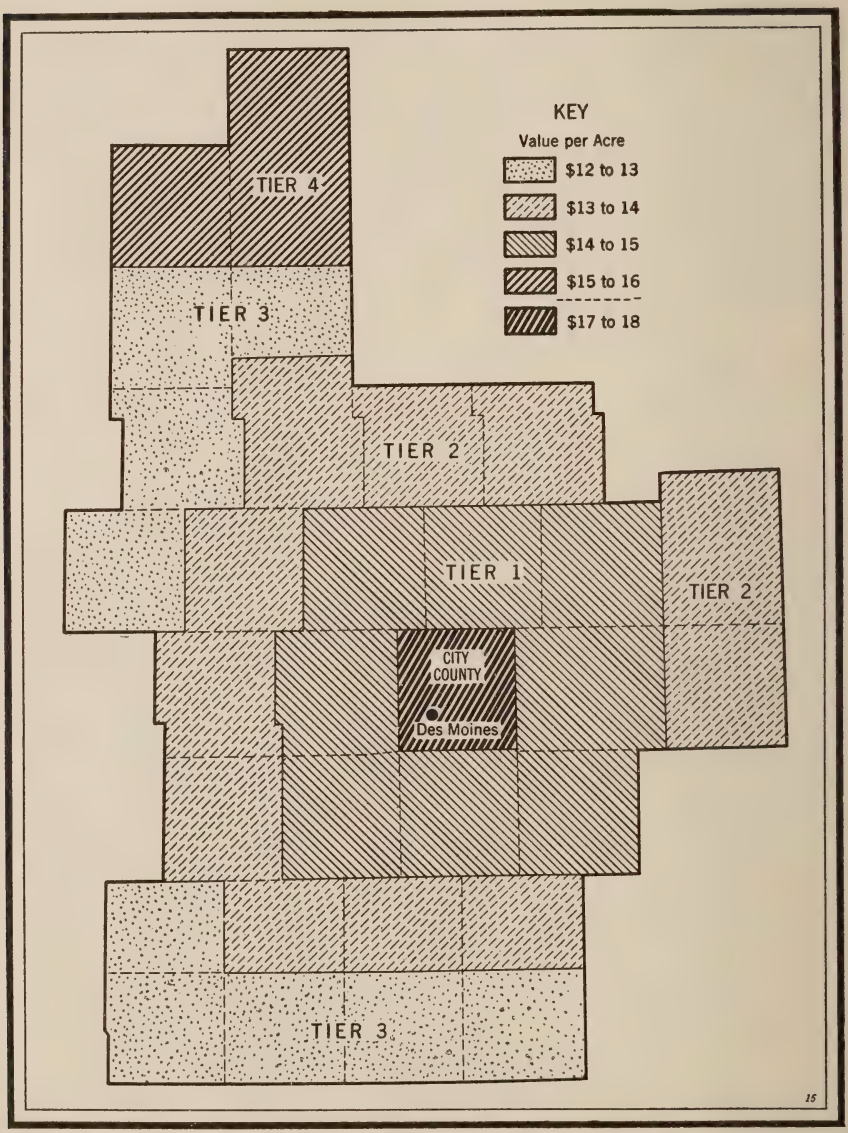

FIG. 15.—Value per acre of field crops in the Des Moines area in 1930, by tiers of counties.

of the trends over time that characterize these relations. Other indices will now be examined from these two points of view and in the order named, covering the entire eighteen areas selected for study.

RURAL-URBAN RELATIONSHIPS BY TIERS: 1930

The case of Des Moines has already shown that, in its area, distance from the city seems to be related to the fecundity of the population which is a measure of birth-rates. Figure 16 shows that this is true in terms of the total population for all eighteen urban areas, although the ratio of children under ten to women twenty to forty-five years of age evens out with the second tier.

The story is much the same when only the rural populations is considered, because it forms such a large proportion of the population

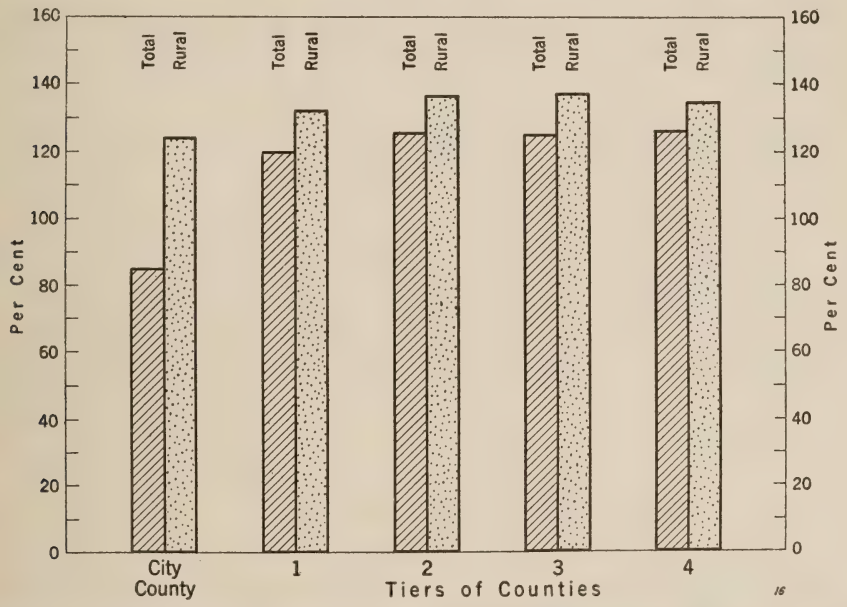

FIG. 16.—Fecundity ratios of the total and the rural population of the 18 areas, by tiers of counties, 1930.

beyond the City County. However, the rural ratios are higher than for the total population of the entire area under investigation, and the differences between the city county and the tiers are less. With each population group, total or simply all rural, Tier One takes a position between the City County and the counties of Tier Two and beyond. Obviously, proximity of the city has brought to bear on Tier One counties some of the influences making for a lower fecundity rate in city counties; but these influences are less powerful from Tier Two on out.

Comparative Fecundity of Urban and Rural Counties.—The greater fecundity of the rural population raises the question as to whether there is any difference with respect to fecundity as between the rural farm and rural non-farm population in terms of the distance of these groups from the city. Table 47 answers this question in terms of regions.

TABLE 47.—RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 TO WOMEN 20 TO 45 YEARS OF AGE IN RURAL FARM AND RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION IN 1930, BY REGION OR DIVISION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region or census division	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
	Rural farm				
All regions	136.8	143.5	148.8	150.4	148.5
Middle Atlantic	149.0	150.4	155.2	157.7	
South	147.4	162.9	169.6	168.1	163.8
Old South	155.3	170.1	176.2	180.0	177.7
South West	131.7	148.5	156.4	150.3	156.8
Middle West	128.3	131.2	134.4	141.9	148.9
East North Central	125.3	129.7	133.0	136.1	141.1
West North Central	130.5	132.4	135.5	144.8	151.5
Far West	116.1	117.5	127.5	124.5	124.8
	Rural non-farm				
All regions	113.9	114.8	116.7	121.3	112 1
Middle Atlantic	121.6	118.0	118.1	133.0	
South	116.9	126.9	131.0	136.9	121.5
Old South	120.8	135.4	141.6	147.3	142.4
South West	109.2	109.8	109.9	121.3	111.0
Middle West	113.9	108.7	107.0	110.6	106.9
East North Central	117.3	113.7	107.5	109.6	105.8
West North Central	111.4	105.0	106.7	111.1	107.3
Far West	93.3	94.5	106.1	102.2	108.4

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III.

The ratio of children under ten to women twenty to forty-five years of age is consistently higher in the farm than in the rural non-farm population. For the former it tends to rise from the City County level to the third or fourth tier, whereas in the rural non-farm population in half the regions the fecundity ratio of the City County is higher than that of Tiers One and Two, largely because of the foreign-born element in the urban county.

The Effective Birth-rate Comparison.—These results are confirmed when the effective birth-rate of the population is considered for 1930. This rate is usually measured in terms of the number of children under one year of age to each 1,000 of the population. Again the rural population has a high effective birth-rate, increasing from the low of the urban county. In fact, the total population, the rural farm population, and the rural non-farm population all show a consistent upward trend outward from the urban tier. The rural farm population has a higher proportion of effective births than the non-farm, largely village population, in all

tiers save in the urban county and in Tier Three. The rate for all eighteen areas follows in Table 48. Regional variations are given in Appendix D.

TABLE 48.—BIRTH RATE PER 1,000 FOR TOTAL, RURAL FARM, AND RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION IN 1930, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Population	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
Total	15.7	17.8	18.7	19.1	20.1
Rural farm	16.9	18.4	19.5	19.4	20.9
Rural non-farm	18.5	18.1	19.2	19.8	19.6

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III.

It seems evident from this analysis that the fecundity of population, measured by either of the methods used, especially of the farm population, increases with the distance of the county from the city, pointing to the fact that the farm is still the seed-bed of America. It is also clear that rural and farm populations near to cities are more subject to the conditions affecting the urban birth-rate than are those farther away.

Interesting in this relation is the correlation between the effective birth-rate and population growth. The coefficients in this case are as follows:

	Tiers of Counties			
City County	1	2	3	4
−.139	−.305	−.198	+.010	−.172

From this one concludes that the population growth of a tier of counties tends to be related negatively with the birth-rate, which suggests that growth is more a function of migration than it is of the natural rate of increase. Thus those counties farther removed from the urban centers may not expect to grow by reason of their larger families. Theirs is the function of serving as an important source for replenishing urban population.

Age-distributions Show Important Differences by Distance from Urban Center.—The birth-rate obviously influences the age-distribution of the population. The greater proportion of children within the rural portion of society has been recognized for some time; and, as is shown in Chapter I, it is the farm group especially, rather than the agricultural villagers, that contribute to this result. However, the proportion of children in the urban, rural farm and rural non-farm population groups of the various tiers is not uniform. It varies with the distance from the city. The age-composition of the population reveals that the rural tiers of counties have a larger proportion of people under 21 years of age and

of people over 45 years than the City County. An analysis of these disproportions shows that in educational, social and economic planning there is need to consider differences in distance as well as in rurality in any forecast. As one goes out tier by tier from the urban county, the percent of children under ten years of age increases. This holds true also for both the total and the rural population as Figure 17 shows. For the city county, there are 17.7 children under ten in the total and 21 in the rural population for each 100 persons. From this figure there is a steady increase to Tier Four where the proportions are 21.6 and 22.3 for the total and rural population respectively.

The rural population for 1930 only can be subdivided as previously into the farm and non-farm elements. When this is done, the apparently

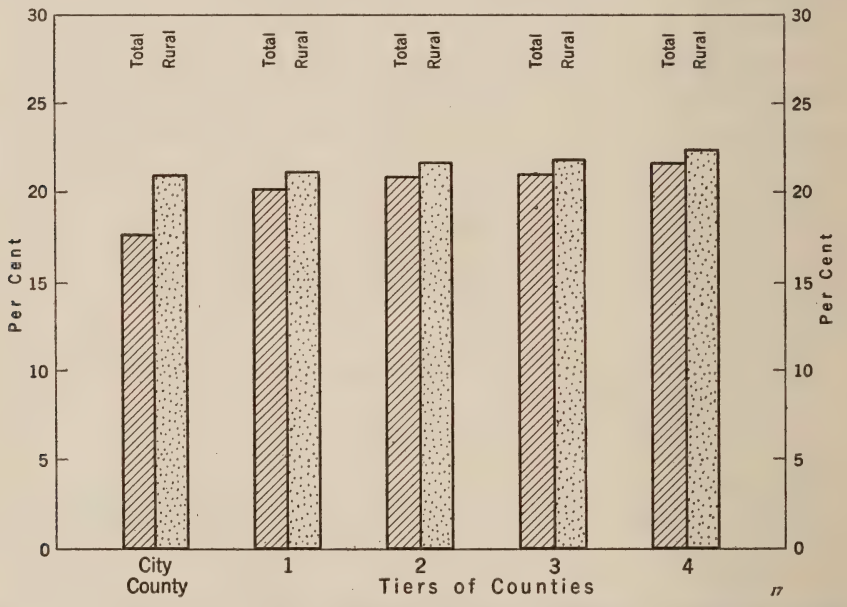

FIG. 17.—Proportion of children under 10 years of age in the total and the rural population of the 18 areas, by tiers of counties, 1930.

consistent rural trend is seen to consist of two distinct factors. The proportion of children under ten years of age in the rural farm population shows the expected increase from the City County (20.7) to Tier One (21.6), from Tier One to Tier Four (23.0). The trend remains significantly uniform when the national figures are split into regional components. In the rural non-farm population, on the other hand, there is no appreciable variation in the proportion of children below ten years of age in passing from tier to tier. The divisional analysis shows that only in the Old South is there any marked correlation between the proportion of children in the rural non-farm population and the tier distance. In fact the Middle West shows a marked contrary trend.

Obviously the high proportion of children in the farm population has significance for educators and all whose work lies with children.

The proportion of youth from ten to twenty-one years of age shows similar tendencies, but to a less marked degree. In the city county, 19.7 percent of the population fall in this age-group, whereas in the tiers the range is from 22.2 in the first to 22.5 in the fourth tier for the total population, with closely similar trends for the rural. Here is to be seen the beginning of the effect of the migration of rural youth to the cities. This migration, as Chapter I shows, is largely composed of people up to thirty years of age. It is reflected in the proportions of people between

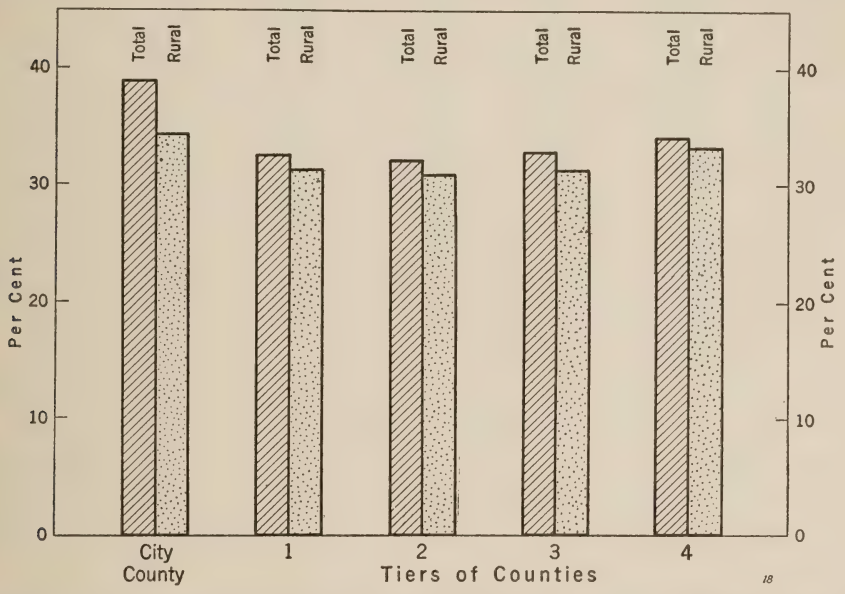

FIG. 18.—Proportion 21 to 45 years of age in the total and the rural population of the 18 areas, by tiers of counties, 1930.

twenty-one and forty-five years of age in the total population which as Figure 18 shows is 38.8 percent in the City County and only between 32.2 and 32.7 percent in Tiers One to Three and 34 percent in Tier Four. Though these percentages vary as between the farm and non-farm population as Table 49 shows, the proportions also obviously affect the ratio of persons forty-five years of age and over. Figure 19 and Table 49 give the data.

It is clear from these data that the city has drawn from rural regions enough of the productive age-group to put the city under obligations, not so much to reciprocate in kind, as to help plan for the youth it eventually will draw off to its own augmentation. Equalization grants are therefore in the nature of payment in part by the city for the training of its future citizens, for it is the city that has the benefit of the best period

of the rural migrant's life. The urban tiers have the advantage of the disproportionately large productive age-group. Urban planning cannot continue to be heedless of its relation to the farm.[1]

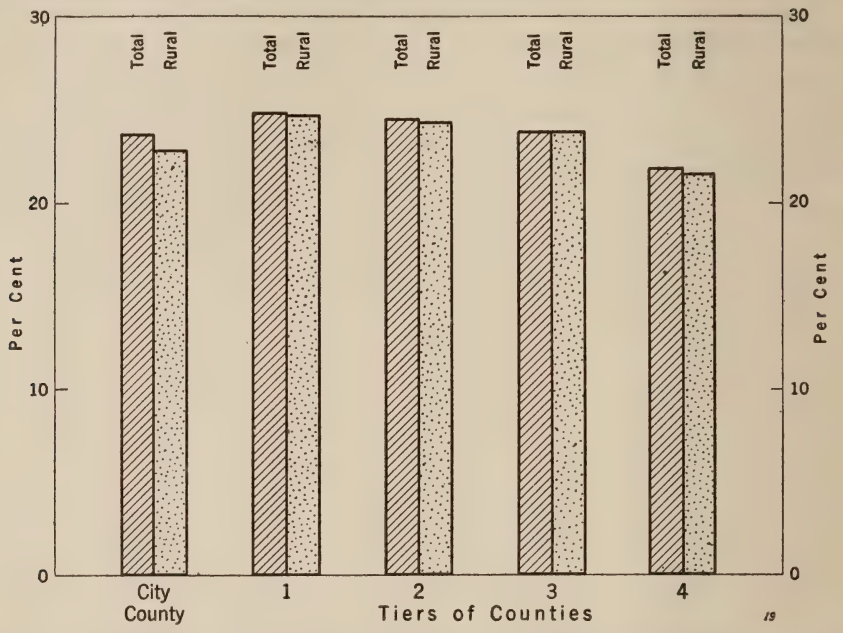

FIG. 19.—Proportion 45 and over years of age in the total and the rural population of the 18 areas, by tiers of counties, 1930.

TABLE 49.—PROPORTION 21 TO 45 YEARS OF AGE, AND 45 AND OVER, IN THE RURAL FARM AND RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION, IN 1930, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Farm and non-farm	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent 21 to 45 years of age				
Farm	30.1	29.9	29.7	29.7	31.7
Non-farm	37.0	33.6	33.4	33.6	35.4
	Percent 45 and over				
Farm	24.8	23.8	23.0	22.9	20.1
Non-farm	22.5	26.2	26.4	25.2	24.1

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III.

[1] Additional analysis of the proportion of persons over fifty-five and over sixty-five years of age in the rural non-farm population shows a fairly unvarying trend in all regions save in the Middle West. In this region the proportion increases outwardly to Tier Four, being a maximum in that tier. These sub-analyses confirm the generalization made in

Sex Ratios and Marital Status.—The ratio of males to females and the marital status of the population are important factors in determining other characteristics of the population. It has long been known that males are in excess in newer territories, and that with the development of a given area this ratio of males to females approaches equality. In the United States in 1930 there were 102.4 males to every 100 females; in the eighteen areas, the ratio was 102.2 to 100. This excess of males is owing entirely to the sex ratio in the tiers.

The number of males to each 100 females rises from 104.8 and 104.2 in Tiers One and Two respectively to 106.2 in Tier Three and 110.4 in Tier Four. This increase seems to be largely due to the farm population, as will be apparent from Table 50. Men are in excess in the farm population, partly because girls are far more likely than boys to leave the farm, as Chapter I shows, and partly because of the number of male farm laborers. This inference is supported by the higher ratio of males to females among the farm population as compared to the rural non-farm. In the farm group there were 13 percent more men than women, compared with a 4 percent excess in the rural non-farm group, in 1930; which in turn may be contrasted with a 2 percent excess in the total population. The male-female ratio in the rural farm population is substantially independent of distance from the City County as revealed by the tier analyses.[1]

The sex ratios directly influence the proportion of persons of each sex fifteen years of age and over that are married. The greater the excess of males in the population, the higher the proportion of women married. In the urban county the females are in excess and the proportion of males married is highest, while the proportion of females is lowest. The reverse

TABLE 50.—RATIO OF MALES TO 100 FEMALES, AND PROPORTION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER MARRIED, BY SEX, IN THE TOTAL AND IN THE RURAL POPULATION IN 1930, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

	City county		Tiers of counties							
			1		2		3		4	
	Total	Rural	Total	Rural	Total	Rural	Total	Rural	Total	Rural
Ratio males to females	98.1	114.7	104.8	113.5	104.2	112.3	106.2	114.5	110.4	118.7
Percent 15 and over married:										
Males	61.5	56.0	59.8	56.7	60.2	57.6	60.2	57.1	58.2	55.4
Females	59.3	65.2	62.4	65.9	63.1	66.4	63.8	66.7	65.2	67.4

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III.

chapter iii that the villages of the rural Middle West have a larger proportion of retired people in their population than those of other regions.

[1] In the rural non-farm population, however, there is an interesting difference between the proportion in the urban tiers and that in the rest of the tiers. The proportion of males is sharply higher in the villages (rural non-farm) located in the city county than in the remaining part of the areas chosen.

is true in the tiers where the proportion of females married increases from tier to tier with the increase of males.

The markedly lower proportion of males married in the tiers is in part owing to a lack of supply of females due to the cityward migrations of girls, and possibly in part to the itinerancy of farm laborers. Comparing the 56 percent of farm males and the 65 percent of females married in the City County, which has a farm male-female ratio of 114.7, with the 57 percent of married males and 67 percent of married females in Tier Three, which has a male-female ratio of 114.5, a generalization can be made that degree of rurality and distance from the urban county are both effective in making for a larger proportion of marriages in each sex.

With regard to proportion of males fifteen and over, and females fifteen and over widowed, data are available only for the total population. The proportion of widows is more than twice as large as that of widowers; *i.e.* 11.3 compared with 4.9. In examining the effect of distance on the proportion of widows and widowers as indicated by the tier analysis, it is found that the proportion of widowers is relatively independent of distance from the city county; whereas the proportion of widows shows a consistent decrease in passing from the city outward.

Several factors probably contribute to this outward decrease of the proportion of widows. There is, in the first place, the greater opportunity for marriage in the outer tiers owing to the larger proportion of males in those tiers. In the second place, there is greater economic pressure for remarriage in the rural communities as compared with the greater economic independence of women in the urban areas. Finally, and perhaps most potent of all, it is extremely difficult for a widow to operate a farm. She therefore usually moves to the city or village.

Distance from City Influences Agricultural Relations.—Enough data have now been set forth to show that so far as the characteristics of the population are concerned, differences are not only due to dis-similarities between urban and rural groups, but also and to a considerable extent to the distance of any given population unit or group from the city.

The question now arises as to the effect of distance from the city on the major occupation of the country—farming. In this phase of the study the investigation is embarrassed by the richness of the available data, and only a few significant but typical comparisons are here presented. They show, as did the population analysis, that the factor of distance from an urban center is a potent element in the agricultural situation.

The average area of improved land per farm, for instance, increased slowly from the City County to the second tier, going from 85 to 90 acres, but then jumped to 110.6 acres in the third tier and to 165.4 in the fourth. The proportion of farm area improved, however, decreased steadily from tier to tier outward, indicating more intensive use of land the nearer

the farm was to the city. As will be shown, this affects the type of agriculture.

The relationship of distance to types of farm is suggested in Table 51. There is a tendency for the fruit, milk, and poultry farms to concentrate in the City County and secondarily in Tier One. Dairy farms, while numerous in the City County, increased further out, but lessened with Tier Four. The proportion of animal specialty farms and stock ranches tends to increase with distance from the City County, as does grain farming, though not markedly until Tier Four. Self-sufficing farms, so-called, that is, farms that consume more than half of the crops raised, also increased from Tier One outward; the slightly higher proportion of such farms in the City County being associated with part-time farming, discussed in Chapter II. It seems abundantly evident from these data that agriculture is not a unit, but is variously influenced not only by soil, climate and

TABLE 51.—DISTRIBUTION OF FARMS, BY TYPE AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES IN 1930,—18 AREAS

Type of farm*	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
Fruit	5.4	3.5	2.1	1.8	2.8
Truck	5.2	1.2	0.7	0.2	0.5
Dairy	14.9	19.0	19.0	23.0	18.0
Animal specialty	5.7	8.4	9.6	11.6	9.6
Stock ranch†	0.2	1.0	2.8	2.0	5.0
Poultry	4.8	3.8	3.6	3.1	1.8
Self-sufficing	7.5	6.8	8.1	8.9	11.1
General	19.5	21.3	23.7	21.9	18.3
Other	36.8	35.0	30.4	27.5	32.9

* These eight types are selected from eleven used by the United States Department of Agriculture in reporting statistics by counties on types of farms (*Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture*, Vol. I). The other types are cash grain, crop specialty and abnormal.

† Percents based only on localities where found.

rainfall, but also by markets as determined by the location of cities and the proximity of farms to cities. The social implications of this fact will be pointed out later in this chapter.

Another significant relationship concerns the percent of all farms mortgaged. As between the City County with 41.3 percent of its farms so encumbered and Tiers One and Two with 43.8 percent, there is little difference. But the proportion of farms mortgaged then rises to 46.1 and 52.7 percent respectively in Tiers Three and Four. On the other hand, the value of all farm property per acre in 1930 was $143.60 in the City County; and then dropped with each succeeding tier to $61.56 per acre in Tier Four. So too, the value of all farm crops per acre was $14.44 in the City County in 1930, $12.41 in Tier One, but $9.22, $8.82 and $7.43

respectively in Tiers Two to Four; which again suggests differences with types of agriculture. Obviously there seems to be an advantage for the farmer in locating not farther than two counties from an urban center.

TRENDS BY DECADES IN RURAL-URBAN RELATIONSHIPS

The foregoing section has established the fact that in many important respects the characteristics of the total and of the rural population are affected by, or at least vary with, the distance of measurable population groups from cities. It has also shown that agriculture varies markedly as the distance from the city increases. From the point of view of future policy, and of understanding rural America, it is important to ask next whether this situation has existed in the past, whether it has changed within the last twenty years, and whether the discoverable trends are more pronounced than ten years ago. It is proposed to answer these questions by following the same indices of rural-urban relationships that have been discussed, together with certain others of importance, from 1910 to 1930; and thus to trace changes decade by decade.

Declining Birth Rate Beginning to Equalize between Urban and Rural Counties.—It will be recalled that the ratio of children under ten years of age to women twenty to forty-five years of age increased with each tier of counties outward from the City County. Between 1910 and 1930, this fecundity ratio declined sharply in every tier, both for the total population and the rural population, as Table 52 shows.

TABLE 52.—RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 TO WOMEN 20 TO 45 YEARS OF AGE IN THE TOTAL AND IN THE RURAL POPULATION, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
	Total population				
1910	138.1	144.3	148.2	152.2	163.5
1920	130.9	139.2	144.0	147.0	150.9
1930	123.4	131.8	136.3	137.4	134.5
	Rural population				
1910	93.5	133.5	139.7	141.8	156.9
1920	90.8	125.8	134.1	136.2	142.8
1930	84.7	119.6	125.2	124.2	126.0

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States; 1910, Population,* Vols. II and III; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Population,* Vol. III; *Fifteenth Census of the United States; 1930, Population,* Vol. III.

The drop in the birth-rate is a national phenomenon. The rate of decline, however, was slightly greater for the total than for the rural population. Interestingly enough, the rate of decline, which is lower in

the counties of Tiers One and Two than in the urban county, increases somewhat in Tier Three and sharply in Tier Four. These percent rates of decline by tiers for the total and the rural population between 1910 and 1930 as derived from the table above are:

	Percent				
		Tiers of Counties			
	City County	1	2	3	4
Rural population	10.6	8.7	8.0	9.7	17.7
Total population	9.5	10.4	10.4	12.4	19.6

Apparently the fecundity rate of the population is declining more rapidly in tiers more remote from, than in tiers nearer to cities; which suggests that the decline began later in the outlying tiers than in the cities and counties close to cities. If this continues, the future may see less difference than the present in fecundity ratios; in which case, rural America, as suggested in Chapter I, will cease to make as much of a contribution to the nation's total population as it has in the past.

The earlier part of this chapter showed also that the relationship or the differences between the City County and the various tiers of counties surrounding it, in the matter of the birth-rate, together with the factor of migration, has influenced the age-distribution of the population. It has further just been shown that the birth-rate, at least as measured by the ratio of children under ten to women twenty to forty-five years of age, is declining in all groups of counties, though at different rates. It is important to ask, therefore, what is happening to the age-distribution.

Population Aging with Less Gradation.—The census data show that both for the total population and for the rural population there is a tendency for the average age to increase. The first evidence of this is in the changing proportion of children under ten years of age in the population. This proportion declined slightly between 1910 and 1920, especially in the tiers as contrasted with the City County, but markedly between 1920 and 1930. The decline, measured by points of difference, was practically the same for the total and the rural population, though the latter has a higher proportion of children, especially in the City County.

The result of this twenty-year decrease in the proportion of children under ten years of age is that, while the proportion still increases with the distance of the tier from the City County, the points of difference have grown steadily less. Thus there were 3.5 points difference between the urban county and Tier One in the proportion of children, and 6.3 points between the urban county and Tier Four in 1910; but only 2.5 and 3.9 points respectively in 1930, as will be seen in Table 53.

Similarly the rural population of the City County and the various tiers showed less difference in 1930 than in 1910. It is as though the ages under ten in the rural population were approaching a constant, and its proportion was adjusting itself to the low level of the city center and its

county. This confirms the suggestion made in Chapter I that in some respects urban, village and farm populations are growing more alike, and that differences are less apparent than formerly and apparently will be still less marked in 1940. On the other hand these tendencies have not

TABLE 53.—PROPORTION CHILDREN UNDER 10 YEARS OF AGE IN THE TOTAL AND IN THE RURAL POPULATION, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
	Total population				
1910	19.2	22.7	23.4	23.9	25.5
1920	19.1	22.1	22.8	23.2	23.8
1930	17.7	20.2	20.9	21.0	21.6
	Rural population				
1910	22.6	23.6	24.2	23.6	26.1
1920	22.6	23.0	23.6	24.0	24.7
1930	21.0	21.1	21.7	21.8	22.3

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Population*, Vols. II and III; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Population*, Vol. III; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III.

yet shown themselves markedly in the youth from ten to twenty years of age, though for all tiers and for the City County there was a slight decline in the percent of this age in the population.

As was noted earlier in the discussion, the farm population makes a disproportionately large contribution to the youth of the nation and the city profits by this differential contribution. The proportion of persons over twenty-one years of age thus tends to vary inversely with the distance from the urban county. But over the years 1910 to 1930, the proportion of adults in the population has increased more rapidly in each tier of counties than it has in the City County, as indeed would be expected because the proportion of children declined. The percent of population over twenty-one in the counties shows less difference among the tiers in 1930 than in 1910; and all tiers are more like the City County in this respect than they were, as Table 54 shows.

For 1920 and 1930, the twenty-one years of age and over group can be divided into those twenty-one to forty-five and forty-five and over. When this is done, it is evident that the aging of the population is the result of an increase in the latter group. In the City County, and in each tier, the ratio of people twenty-one to forty-five years of age declined,

TABLE 54.—PROPORTION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
1910	60.1	54.5	53.7	53.0	51.1
1920	61.4	56.0	55.1	55.0	53.8
1930	62.6	57.6	56.7	56.6	55.9

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Population*, Vols. II and III; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Population*, Vol. III; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III.

the decline being most rapid in the City County; which again resembled each tier in this respect more closely in 1930 than in 1920, though when the rural population alone is considered this is not true. Table 55 carries the details of this comparison.

TABLE 55.—PROPORTION 21 TO 45 YEARS OF AGE IN THE TOTAL AND IN THE RURAL POPULATION, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Years	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
	Total population				
1920	40.0	33.4	32.9	33.4	34.2
1930	38.9	32.6	32.2	32.7	34.0
	Rural population				
1920	34.3	32.3	32.0	32.3	33.8
1930	34.3	31.3	31.0	31.3	33.2

Source: *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Population*, Vol. III; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III.

The proportion of persons 45 years of age and over, on the other hand, increased in all groups of counties between 1920 and 1930; but among the tiers, and as compared with the City County, remained all but unchanged during this decade, as may be seen in Table 56.

Social Implications of Age Changes.—The shifts in the age-groups of the population both total and rural can only mean, as has been stressed elsewhere, that in another generation the population will be significantly different in its age-composition from that of 1910 or of 1930. With the declining birth-rate already demonstrated, the population will be older

TABLE 56.—PROPORTION 45 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
1920	21.4	22.6	22.2	21.6	19.6
1930	23.6	24.9	24.5	23.8	21.8

Source: *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Population*, Vol. III; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III.

than ever before in the history of the United States. Differences between the city and the rural populations will grow less, though these differences will be greater the farther from the city one goes.

An aging population will bring added conservatism, unless the growth of adult education and the redirection of the training given youth overcomes this tendency which is always associated with aging populations.

But regardless of the probable decline in the contribution to the youth of the nation by the rural population its contribution will still be disproportionately large for some decades to come. This fact, coupled with the aging especially of the village population, raises three problems for rural America.

First, it must provide education to a disproportionately large number of youth with the number of people of productive ages disproportionately small. The ratio of children to persons twenty to forty-five years of age is greater in the rural areas than elsewhere. These persons of productive age will be harder pushed to provide an education commensurate with that which the greater proportion of urban people of corresponding age can provide. Because of the city's equity in the country youth, the city may well aid any plan which will equalize educational benefit, since the city will itself profit by such a move.

The second problem is the one of providing leisure activity for the older groups which have retired to the villages. Too often retirement means cessation of all purposeful activity for this group. Provision should be made to enlist more adequately the wisdom of this maturer group in enterprises of local as well as general benefit.

The third problem is the need for an adequate public health program to care for the health of rural children and the mothers that produced them, as well as for the older group in which the incidence of the diseases of senescence are greater. These and other questions will be given attention in succeeding chapters.

Among other possible comparisons are the proportion of native-white of native parentage, and of Negroes, in the total population, marital

status and the sex ratios. The male-female ratios for instance for the total population of the eighteen selected areas, which was 107.0 in 1910, declined to 104.0 in 1920 and in 1930 was only 102.2. This decline was a national phenomenon by tiers in each of the three decades. The trend already noted for this ratio to be lowest in the urban county and to increase tier by tier, obtained in 1910 and 1920 as well as in 1930. But the trend, like that of fecundity and birth-rate, is for the ratio to approach equality in each tier, though at different rates.[1]

Differences in Educational Relationships Disappearing.—An excellent indication of cultural level is the degree to which the available educational advantages are utilized. Inference may be made, however, on the basis of the proportions of specified age-groups that are in attendance at school. Likewise the rates of illiteracy could be used as an index of rural-urban influences.[2]

Rural and Urban Differences for Eighteen to Twenty-year Ages in School Tend to Decrease.—The proportion of the age-group eighteen to twenty that is in school represents persons in higher education. Those eighteen to twenty years old are either completing their high-school course or just beginning their college education. The proportion for all counties of the eighteen-year to twenty-year age-group in school was 18 percent in 1910, but 24 percent in 1930. The change from 1910 to 1920 was negligible in all regions, so that the entire increase in the proportion attending school may be attributed to a change in the decade between 1920 and 1930. The change from 1910 to 1920, however, is significant when the rural and urban tiers are compared as they are in Table 57, and in Appendix D.

In twelve of the eighteen urban areas, there was an increase in the proportion of those eighteen to twenty years old in attendance in school; in the other six, a decrease. The unweighted average changed from 15.3 in 1910 to 17.2 in 1920. In the Tier One counties the reverse is demonstrated. There are twelve decreases and six increases. The average percent changed from 18.7 to 17.8 in the decade. Tier Two shows ten decreases and eight increases, and a change in percent from 19.8 to 18.6. In Tier Three there were nine decreases and six increases, the 1910 and 1920 averages being respectively 19.1 and 18.8. In Tier Four, five decreased and

[1] See Appendix D.

[2] Few subjects are more important than the cultural relationships of the city and its outlying, surrounding territory. Park has already shown that urban newspaper circulation decreases with the distance from the city. *Cf.* "Urbanization as Measured by Newspapers Circulation," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (July 1929) p. 60. Numerous studies could be made of this relationship. Among them urban and rural magazine circulation, the use of advertising space in rural papers by manufacturers of nationally advertised goods; book-club memberships, and so on; but after some experimentation, it was decided to confine this investigation to data available in the census, which for all other aspects of the main problem of rural-urban relationships and the trends these relationships were taking, is abundantly adequate.

TABLE 57.—PROPORTION IN SCHOOL OF THE 18–20 AGE GROUP, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1910	15.3	18.7	19.8	19.1	21.0
1920	17.2	17.8	18.6	18.8	21.1
1930	25.5	24.3	23.1	24.1	28.8

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Population,* Volumes II and III; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Population,* Vol. III; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population,* Vol. III.

four increased. The averages for this tier did not change significantly, 21.0 for 1910 as against 21.1 for 1920. The phenomenon of urban increase as against rural decrease may, in a measure, be attributed to the higher wages that were available to the marginal rural worker in 1920. Marginal wages, however, are not the only factor explaining this rural-urban difference.

In 1910 the urban ratio of those eighteen to twenty years old in school was significantly less than the ratios for the rural tiers. From 1910 to 1920 the urban tier was successful in increasing the availability of higher education to its youth. The urban tier was adjusting to the rural standard. By 1930 the urban tier had surpassed the rural. In 1910 and 1920 the average ratios for the rural tiers were higher than for the urban. In 1930 Tiers One, Two and Three had a smaller proportion of their youth eighteen to twenty years old in schools than the City County. The variability around the urban tier decreased sharply from 1910 to 1920 and 1930. The proportions are becoming more nearly alike. There seems to be a tendency to decreasing variability, which indicates that the rural urban differentiation in higher education is being lost.

What time will do may be problematical; but, on the basis of the data, the opinion may be hazarded that in higher education the difference between urban and rural tiers will tend to be eliminated. The average deviations from the weighted average of the urban counties for all the rural tiers were 5.4, 1.4, and 1.0, in 1910, 1920 and 1930, respectively.

Compulsory Ages of Seven to Thirteen Years Show Little Variations.—The proportion of children of the compulsory school ages seven to thirteen years in school increased from 91.5 in 1920 to 95.1 in 1930. This increase of 3.6 in the total percent is especially significant in showing the general growth of administrative control and adjustment. The urban county, because of its smaller control area, had a larger proportion of its seven to thirteen-year-olds in school in both 1920 and 1930. The

differences between urban and rural tiers were not as great, however, in 1930 as in 1920, as Table 58 reveals.

TABLE 58.—PROPORTION IN SCHOOL OF THE COMPULSORY AGE GROUP, 7–13 YEARS, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
1920	93.3	90.6	90.7	91.0	88.6
1930	96.5	94.9	94.5	95.0	95.2

Source: *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Population*, Vol. III; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III.

The average deviation from the urban proportions in 1930 is but 1.6, as against 3.1 in 1920. The educational differences between rural and urban tiers are leveling out. The tendency of the proportions of children seven to thirteen years old attending school to decrease with distance from the urban center, was not as significant in 1930 as in 1920. It is only in the Old South in the areas of Montgomery, Alabama; Richmond, Virginia; Nashville, Tennessee; and Columbia, South Carolina; that the proportions still show any decrease with distance.

The importance of the adjustment of rural tiers to urban standards of control in compulsory education is in part attributable to the states' realization of the necessity to equalize educational opportunity. The effect given to such realization in reducing the differential between the two groups is only one step, but a significant one, toward rural-urban uniformities.[1]

Agricultural Relations.—The influences of the rural-urban relationship upon agriculture, noted in an earlier section of the chapter, become the more apparent when viewed over the period of twenty years. The trends in these relationships, measured by tiers, will be concerned with land, its ownership, its value and uses.

As Chapter II showed, the proportion of land in farms is decreasing in the East and South but increasing in the Far West. The sample of counties shows the same trends; but even combining all regions, a clear trend

[1] The proportion of children fourteen and fifteen years old in school increased from 84.1 in 1920 to 89.5 in 1930 in the eighteen areas included in this study. The urban tier in each of these two decades had a higher proportion of these ages in school. There are, however, no significant distinctions among the rural tiers. When the proportions of those sixteen and seventeen years old in school are analyzed, a marked increase in the percent of this group in school in the last decade is found. In 1920 less than half of the youth sixteen and seventeen years old were in school. By 1930 this was increased to 60 percent. In 1920 the proportion was lowest in the urban county, increasing from tier to tier outward. By 1930 the urban county had the largest proportion of this age-group in school. Tier Two had the lowest proportion; Tier One a larger proportion than Tier Two, but less than Tier Three, which was surpassed by Tier Four.

is observable—namely, for the percent of all land in farms between 1910 and 1930 to decrease more rapidly near the city than farther away. In the southern counties, which lost 13.5 percent in the proportion of land in farms between 1910 and 1930, the total losses were confined exclusively to the city and Tier One counties. In the Middle West there were recessions in the same groups, though the other tiers gained. Even in the Far West, which added 12 percent to the total area of land in farms, the urban and Tier One counties showed recessions between 1910 and 1930. Table 59 summarizes the results for the total sample.

TABLE 59.—PROPORTION IN FARMS OF ALL LAND, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1910	74.5	78.6	76.9	73.9	65.4
1920	70.7	76.0	75.8	73.4	65.7
1930	65.2	72.5	73.5	71.6	66.6

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Agriculture,* Vols. VI and VII; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Agriculture,* Vol. VI; *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Agriculture,* Vol. II.

This table shows the definite trend for the City County to use more and more land for non-agricultural purposes, such as industrial or suburban development. Included in the decline also, doubtless, are former farm lands that have proved unprofitable to farm, owing to the increased land values resulting from urban expansion, and that are now being held for sale. It will be noted that Tier One, which in 1910 had the greatest proportion of land in farms of all tiers, by 1930 took second place, being passed by Tier Two and nearly equalled by Tier Three.

The tendency of farms to increase in size with the distance from the city, already noted, is seen in Table 60 to have obtained in previous dec-

TABLE 60.—AVERAGE ACREAGE OF IMPROVED LAND PER FARM, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres
1910	93.9	92.8	92.6	109.2	155.2
1920	88.7	92.2	90.6	112.8	159.8
1930	85.0	89.5	90.0	110.6	165.4

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Agriculture,* Vols. VI and VII; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Agriculture,* Vol. VI; *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Agriculture,* Vol. II.

ades. This table shows too that the area per farm tended to decrease in the urban county and more slowly in Tiers One and Two, but to hold stationary in Tier Three and to increase quite sharply in Tier Four.

It seems clear from this that the tendency for small and large farms to increase in numbers, as noted in Chapter II, is related to the distance of the farms from the city. Small farms are located near cities. Large farm units are not only a western phenomenon but are also related to distance from cities.

Significant Trends in the Ownership of Land.—Nationally, as was noted in Chapter II, the tendency has been for an increasing proportion of farms to be operated by tenant-farmers. When the question of land ownership is examined in the light of any possible relationship to the cities, significant trends develop. In 1910 the proportion of owner-operated farms increased regularly with distance from the city. Between 1910 and 1920, the proportion of owner-operated farms in the City County remained stationary; but it declined in all tiers. This decline continued in the tiers between 1920 and 1930; but ownership operation increased in the City County so that by 1930 the trend had reversed itself and owner-operation decreased with distance as Table 61 shows.

TABLE 61.—PROPORTION OF FARMS OPERATED BY OWNERS, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1910	57.7	62.1	63.5	64.2	66.5
1920	57.6	60.8	61.2	61.6	60.4
1930	60.9	60.4	60.3	58.9	56.0

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Agriculture*, Vols. VI and VII; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Agriculture*, Vol. VI; *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Agriculture*, Vol. II.

This trend was especially noticeable in the South and the Middle West, and less so in the Far West. In the Middle Atlantic states, owner-operation increased in each group of counties; but the City County had the highest proportion of farm owners. The regional data are given in Appendix D. The obverse of decrease in ownership is the increase in tenancy. Naturally therefore the ratio of tenant-operated farms, when analyzed by the tier technique, behaved as regularly as the ratio of owner-operation, but increased where the latter decreased.[1]

Mortgage Indebtedness Increases More Sharply in Outer Tiers.—The question of debt is always in point in any discussion of land ownership. In this case, the mortgage indebtedness throws additional light on the differential inflation and deflation, discussed in the next section, resulting in much economic maladjustment of those farms more distant from the urban center.

[1] Manager-operated farms constitute a negligible item in these comparisons. There has been little significant change in regions or in totals in the proportion of farms operated by managers in the three decades considered.

The percent of farms under mortgage in all tiers increased from 36.3 in 1910 to 39.0 in 1920, and to 44.2 in 1930, in conformity to the national trend discussed in Chapter III. This generalized increase in percent of mortgaged farms is true in all regional subdivisions of the eighteen areas. Table 62 gives totals for all regions by the tier analysis.

TABLE 62.—PROPORTION OF FARMS MORTGAGED, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1910	33.2	36.3	35.3	38.0	43.4
1920	36.7	38.4	38.4	41.4	47.2
1930	41.3	43.8	43.8	46.1	52.7

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Agriculture,* Vols. VI and VII; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Agriculture,* Vol. VI; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture,* Vol. II.

In each decade the urban county had the lowest proportion of mortgaged farms. Mortgage proportions increased somewhat, outward with tiers. The proportionate increase in farms mortgaged, however, grew at approximately the same rate between 1910 and 1930 in all groups of counties, being 24.4 percent in the City Counties and 20.6, 24.0, 21.3 and 21.2 percent in Tiers One to Four, respectively.

These proportionate increases indicate that more farms farther from the urban center are operating not only to earn a livelihood, but also to pay interest charges. The ratio of mortgage debt to value indicates the handicap under which these farmers are operating. From 1910 to 1920, the ratio of mortgage to farm values for all tiers did not change much; but from 1920 to 1930 there was a significant change from 30.4 percent to 40.3 percent, an increase of over 32 percent; which increase was primarily caused by declining values rather than increased mortgages.

By tiers, the ratio of mortgage debt to value shows a sharp difference between urban counties and non-urban tiers, as is seen in Table 63.

TABLE 63.—RATIO OF FARM-MORTGAGE INDEBTEDNESS TO VALUE OF ALL FARM PROPERTY, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1910	26.5	28.3	27.5	28.2	27.6
1920	29.4	30.7	30.2	29.0	28.8
1930	36.1	40.3	41.7	40.9	38.0

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Agriculture,* Vols. VI and VII; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Agriculture,* Vol. VI; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture,* Vol. II.

The non-urban tiers show no definite trend except that Tier Two represents the high point of this ratio, from which tier the ratio decreases on either side. As compared with the urban counties, the tiers were in a slightly worse position in 1930 than in 1910.

Values of Farm Property Show Wide Fluctuations.—The value of *all farm property* per acre in the eighteen areas increased over 80 percent from 1910 to 1920, and decreased over 28 percent from 1920 to 1930. The inflation to 1920 and the deflation in value from 1920 were not uniform but showed differences among the tiers. This is clear in Table 64.

TABLE 64.—VALUE PER ACRE OF ALL FARM PROPERTY, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
All regions					
1910	$ 99.90	$ 66.82	$ 56.50	$ 49.64	$ 37.31
1920	154.73	122.75	102.95	94.86	77.28
1930	143.60	94.25	71.82	65.93	61.56
Middle Atlantic					
1910	54.20	51.20	43.00	46.80	
1920	81.00	78.70	66.60	72.40	
1930	86.20	77.60	63.60	69.30	
South					
1910	50.40	27.50	24.10	20.90	18.40
1920	97.10	60.40	51.50	44.80	41.10
1930	80.90	42.90	35.40	37.80	35.70
Middle West					
1910	138.90	99.50	93.30	80.80	49.80
1920	220.70	182.90	170.80	159.80	112.70
1930	199.00	121.90	107.50	97.30	73.50
Far West					
1910	180.30	93.90	45.30	30.90	40.80
1920	207.50	165.50	74.20	47.60	60.70
1930	223.60	176.50	68.50	38.80	76.60

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Agriculture,* Vols. VI and VII; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Agriculture,* Vol. VI; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture,* Vol. I.

The percentages of inflation in the per acre value of all farm property from 1910 to 1920 are 55 percent, 84 percent, 82 percent, 91 percent, and 107 percent for the City County, Tiers One, Two, Three and Four respectively. The deflations from 1920 values in 1930 were 7 percent, 23 percent, 30 percent, 30 percent, and 20 percent. This differential inflation and differential deflation of the value of all farm property per acre indicates a significant problem in rural-urban economic balances.

It is in the South and the Middle West that the differential inflation and deflation are revealed as acute problems. In the Middle West, the City County experienced over 55 percent inflation by 1920 over 1910; Tiers

One and Two over 80 percent; Tier Three, almost 100 percent; and Tier Four over 125 percent. The deflations in the Middle West from 1920 to 1930 were, for the City Tier, less than 10 percent, for Tier One, 33 percent; for Tier Two, 37 percent; for Tier Three, 39 percent; and for Tier Four, 34 percent. In the South, the inflations from 1910 to 1920 were 92 percent, 120 percent, 111 percent, 117 percent and 122 percent for the City County and Tiers One, Two, Three and Four respectively. From the inflated values of 1920 the following recessions were noted in 1930: in the South, in the City County, 17 percent; in Tier One, 28 percent; in Tier Two, 32 percent; in Tier Three, 15 percent; and in Tier Four, 13 percent.

When the farm property is thus separated into components, it becomes evident that, in large measure, deflation was primarily a function of differential decrease in the value of land. In 1910, 66.6 percent of all farm property value was in land; by 1930, only 56.8 percent. The proportion of farm property in land is fairly constant tier by tier; but shows, however, some negative correlation with distance from the City County as can be seen in Table 65.

TABLE 65.—PROPORTION OF THE VALUE OF ALL FARM PROPERTY IN LAND AND IN BUILDINGS, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent in land				
1910	69.9	65.9	66.0	66.4	71.8
1920	67.2	64.8	64.2	66.1	70.6
1930	60.7	56.4	55.5	57.6	64.4
	Percent in buildings				
1910	17.3	18.4	17.4	16.6	10.6
1920	18.2	18.4	18.1	16.5	12.2
1930	25.6	26.6	26.0	24.4	18.1

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Agriculture,* Vols. VI and VII; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Agriculture,* Vol. VI; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture,* Vol. II.

The percent of all farm property in land, in animals, in buildings and in machinery and implements, of course, sum to 100; but lowered land values operate spuriously to increase the proportions in the other partitions of farm values.

The proportion of farm property in buildings increased from 1910 to 1920 slightly, and markedly from 1920 to 1930. By tiers, Table 65 shows that there is a definite tendency for the proportion of farm property

in buildings to decrease from the high of the urban county and Tier One outwardly.

Urban Relationship Important in Its Influence on the Uses of Farm Land.—Probably the most direct influence of the urban relationship is seen in the uses to which farm land has been put as measured by the per acre value of crops and live stock. The crops will be considered first.

The Value of All Crops by Tiers of Counties.—The value of all crops per acre increased sharply with inflation from $7.69 in 1910 to $20.70 in 1920; from which 1930 shows a sharp regression to $10.44. The 1920 values were 270 percent of 1910; the 1930 values, however, were but 50 percent of 1920. In the City County, the inflation in crop values over 1910 was over 129 percent; in Tier One, over 182 percent; in Tier Two, over 168 percent; in Tier Three, over 166 percent; and in Tier Four, over 200 percent. The decrease in crop values was 41.5 percent from 1920 to 1930; for Tier One, 48.6 percent; for Tier Two, 50 percent; for Tier Three, 49 percent; and for Tier Four, 42.5 percent. Table 66 gives the comparisons of per acre values.

TABLE 66.—VALUE PER ACRE OF ALL FARM CROPS, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
1910	$10.78	$ 8.56	$ 7.43	$ 6.48	$ 4.26
1920	24.68	24.18	19.92	17.28	12.90
1930	14.44	12.41	9.92	8.82	7.43

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Agriculture*, Vols. VI and VII; *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Agriculture*, Vol. VI; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture*, Vol. II.

The increase in crop values was responsible for the increased utilization of submarginal farm land, and the increase in mortgages. The decline in commodity values resulted in the farmer farther from the urban center being saddled with a heavier debt with proportionately less opportunity to pay. This differential of distance needs consideration in progressive planning for any way out of this present dilemma for the farmer.

Ratio of Vegetables and Cereals Suggests Increased Specialization.—The analysis of rural-urban relationships presented in the first section of the chapter showed clearly that in 1930 proportionately more vegetables are raised on farms near cities. Appendix D indicates that this was true in 1910 and 1920 as well as in 1930. It shows however that this tendency is rapidly increasing. Tier One is also influenced in this respect by the proximity of the city but to a far less degree. In Tier Two the percentage of field crops in vegetables remained stationary, but in Tiers Three and Four it declined. Doubtless this explains why field workers in the village

communities frequently found that vegetables in the stores had come from the chief wholesale center of the area back to village stores.

Conversely the percentage of field crops in cereals increased from the low of the City County in 1910 and 1920, though in 1930 the high in this particular is reached in Tier Two. These facts suggest the increased specialization of agriculture, and indicate that the influence of cities, in part owing to their growth, is increasingly important in such specialization.

Dairy Products Also Point toward Specialization.—The trend toward specialization is also shown in a comparison of the value of dairy products per acre in the three decades, which contrasts sharply with the variation of value of field crops during the same period. Taking the eighteen areas as a whole, the values per acre were $0.99, $2.65 and $3.17 in 1910, 1920 and 1930 respectively. This represents an increase of 167 percent from 1910 to 1920, and a further increase of 20 percent in the last decade. This variation is reasonably uniform for all geographic divisions and for all tiers.

When considered in connection with the general fall in commodity prices, the increase in the last decade gains special significance. While reflecting in part a general increased consumption of dairy products throughout the country, it also emphasizes the inherently greater stability of commodities that are not affected by speculative trading in futures, and that produce no appreciable exportable surplus, to react through violent price fluctuations to any and all changes in world economic conditions.[1]

The tier analysis reflects the concentration of the production of dairy products within easy trucking distance of the city, as noted earlier in the chapter. In each geographic division, and in each decade, there is a progressive decrease outward from the high of the City County. Tier Four in the Far West exhibits an anomalous behavior with an unexpectedly high value. This has been previously noted in the analysis of the value of beef and dairy cattle per acre—an allied value—and is unquestionably due to some special local influence.

Table 67 gives the value of dairy products per acre by tiers for the eighteen areas as a whole in 1910 and in 1930, with the percent increase in each case.

The higher rate of increase in the non-urban tiers is probably a reflection of the increased accessibility to the city by trucks; with a consequent lessening of the economic necessity of having dairy farms concentrated very near to the city. It may presage a gradual decrease of the discrepancy between the City County and the rural tiers in the production of dairy products. An analysis of the value of poultry and eggs per acre indicates significant similarity to the variations noted in the discussion of dairy products.

[1] Owing to the depression, figures for 1932 would show a decrease, but not as sharp a one as in the value of cereals.

TABLE 67.—VALUE PER ACRE OF DAIRY PRODUCTS, AND RATE OF INCREASE, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
1910	$2.11	$1.23	$0.91	$0.74	$1.06
1930	5.34	4.07	3.00	2.65	3.03
Percent increase	153	230	230	258	186

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Population,* Vols. VI and VII; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population,* Vol. II.

The percent of dairy products sold has increased since 1910. In 1910 but 65.1 percent of the dairy products were sold; in 1920, 71.4 percent were sold; and in 1930, 83.1 percent. The ratio of dairy products sold to total dairy products produced is higher in the urban tier in each decade, decreasing tier by tier outward.

It is especially to be noted that in the Middle Atlantic and the Far West regions the percent of dairy products sold is generally about 90 percent in each decade, and in each tier, indicating the effect of metropolitan influences. The Middle West also shows a high ratio of dairy products sold, though not so high as those evidenced in areas more influenced by urban demands. The South, however, shows a sharp differentiation in the percent of dairy products sold in the urban country and in the rural tiers in each decade, with a uniform decrease outward. There was, nevertheless, a significant change occurring in the sale of dairy products in 1930. The increases were high and tended to show a change in types of farming in the South. This may be a reflection of increased urban tendencies in the South coincident with the growth of manufacturing.

Of the poultry and eggs produced, the proportion sold had also increased from decade to decade.

Important Implications in the Changing Rural-urban Relations.—The various differences in type of agriculture apparent in this story of tiers of counties, or zones of varying relationship, around urban centers are important, not only in themselves but from the point of view of social and economic and even educational and religious organizations. Moreover, it is significant that even within such relatively small areas as these wholesale trade boundaries, certain differentiations in the characteristics of the population should have taken place and be capable of measurement in terms of distance from or to the City County.

Briefly characterized, the relationships and their implications can be summarized by the tiers of counties or the zones of mutual influence. The City County, and to an increasing extent in 1920 and 1930 the Tier One counties, are likely to be given over to smaller farms for truck

crops, fruit and intensive dairying. This of necessity means more compact communities and relatively higher density of population. It means more frequent contacts of all sorts with the city center. The process has continued long enough so that such counties share increasingly those characteristics in their populations which have been associated with city populations. There are fewer children, more in the productive age-groups, lower birth-rates, and so on through the list.

Beyond the first zone, there is an increasing tendency for dairying to appear in its various forms and with its various influences. This can be seen especially in counties designated as Tier Two counties; and in some regions Tier One, and to an extent Tier Three, counties share in the tendency. It will be recalled that the counties in Tiers One and Two were the ones that increased 230 percent between 1910 and 1930 in the value of dairy products per acre. Tier Three counties gained even more, but owing to an unusually low figure to begin with in 1910. The characteristics in this area are naturally intermediate, for example, having a higher percentage of farms mortgaged than the City County but with a lower proportion than those counties in Tier Four. It is also in this zone that the ratio of owners and tenants changed least, while the two extremes of the City County and Tier Four reversed their relationship in this respect between 1910 and 1930.

The counties of Tier Four and beyond, until the influence of another urban center is encountered, are the outer zone. In some regions, counties of the third tier have similar tendencies. This is the zone of larger farms but fewer cultivated acres per farm. Cereal crops or cotton are grown by a population of lower density and with larger communities of fewer contacts with the city.

But the most striking characteristic was the matter of the children. The whole population story can be written around this trend of more children in the outer tiers of the more rural counties. The fecundity and the birth-rates show it. The age-distribution shows it, as do the sex and the marriage ratios. Children are a distinguishing characteristic of farm populations removed from urban counties. They were becoming more so in the last decade, even though the general differences between rural and urban populations in this regard were tending to decrease.

This trend coupled with the agricultural and financial situation of these farms makes for a problem of real proportions. The evidence indicates that this was the zone of the most violent fluctuations in values of property both in the period of inflation, 1910 to 1920, and in the time of deflation, 1920 to 1930. It is little wonder then that farmers in the counties more remote from cities had relatively more mortgages and smaller equities in their lands.

Finally, therefore, it would seem that such variations, increasing in their tendencies with the passing of the years, need to be increasingly

recognized by all those who deal with the agricultural situation. A state-wide program, for instance, can enlist the support of the farmers of a given county or tier of counties only to the extent that it recognizes the particular situation that they happen to face. It is a fair question, too, in how far state-wide courses of study in such subjects as agriculture, civics, and vocational guidance should recognize these tier differences. Nor, indeed, can the very differences in composition of population be ignored in this sort of planning.

In the true sense of the word, "rural" and "urban" are becoming, therefore, relative terms; and as such have little meaning unless related to other influences and classifications. That is to say, society cannot be adequately described or analyzed in terms of the old and arbitrary bifocal divisions. Rural and urban are rather terms of degree, measurable by gradations out from any City Center; and, as the chapter has shown, some of the most interesting, and from the standpoint of policy making, some of the most important influences have been indicated.

All of this gives greater point to the discussion of the agricultural situation outlined in a preceding chapter. It and its effects are seen thus to bear unequally on various groups of farmers. This fact adds importance to the further study of rural social change and of those institutions that are the focal points of community life.

Chapter VI

MERCHANDISING AND CREDIT SERVICES

THIS study has made quite clear that the interrelations of the agricultural village and the open-country population are close and that the contacts implicit in these interrelationships are increasing. Nowhere is this trend more apparent than in the realms of merchandising and banking. There are no banks in the open country; and village merchandising enterprises could not exist on their present level unless they served country people as well as villagers. Furthermore, as Chapter IV showed, more than one fifth of the gainfully employed males and one tenth of the females in the agricultural villages are engaged in trade.

The total rural trade of the United States is reported by the 1930 census of retail distribution to exceed $15,400,000,000,[1] 30 percent of the total retail trade of the nation. In eighteen states, more than half of the retail trade is rural; and in seven others, between two-fifths and one-half. In only nine states does the proportion of retail trade to the total fall below the national average of 30 percent. Six of these nine states lie in the New England and Middle Atlantic census divisions. The magnitude of this rural trade, the large proportion of employed persons who engage in it, the importance of merchandising as an integrating factor in village and country relations, and the obvious relationship between the prosperity of the village merchandising businesses and the financial well-being of the institutions of the community and especially of the village, all combine to make the business life of agricultural villages an important subject for study.

Many people appear to believe that the village merchant is destined to succumb to three powerful competitors: the city stores, now easily accessible to rural people by automobile; the mail-order house; and the chain store.[2]

This chapter will throw light on these assumptions. It will discuss the number and types of village stores, how much business they do, the buying habits of their customers, the extent, the degree of success of urban

[1] According to the definition of *The Census of Distribution,* rural includes all places of less than 10,000 population.

[2] It is not too much to say that part of the confusion of thinking that exists on these questions is due to the claims of advertising managers and executives. One group is anxious to show that the advertiser can secure "national coverage" without regard to publications edited chiefly for rural people. Another group may minimize the urban influence upon, and share of, the trade of rural people. Many observers, more impartial, may nevertheless generalize upon a few cases of declining towns of which they know.

and chain-store competition, and the effect of proximity to a city upon rural merchandising. Where data exist indications will be given not only as to the present situation but also as to what trends are discoverable.

Sources of Data.—Because of the importance of the subject and the controversy that exists as to the value of the rural market, it is important to understand the sources of data upon which this discussion is based. In the main, these sources are four. By far the most extensive is that gathered by the United States census of distribution. This census was taken for the first time in 1930, and hence unfortunately affords no basis for a study of trends. Limited information on trends was secured in the field study of the 140 villages, the second source of data, and in a few of the intensively surveyed counties, which counties furnished a third source of information. Finally there are the reports of the *Bradstreet Book of Commercial Ratings* on each local business of every community over a period of years. The Bradstreet reports, moreover, attempt to cover the community, while *The Census of Distribution* confines its printed reports below the county level to incorporated places of 1,000 or more population.

NUMBER OF STORES IN AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES INCREASING

An analysis was therefore made of the number and type of all commercial enterprises and of all stores in the 140 village communities as reported by Bradstreet for 1910, 1920 and 1930.[1]

This analysis showed that the number of stores had been steadily increasing. The increase between 1920 and 1930 was more rapid than between 1910 and 1920, the total number of commercial enterprises at these three years for the average village being 44.9, 49.3 and 56.2 respectively. This tendency held for villages of every size and for every region. The gain moreover was owing almost exclusively to the increase in retail trade outlets, rather than to additions to other types of commercial enterprises. This is clearly shown by Table 68. Between 1910 and 1930, therefore, the number of retail trade outlets increased 43 percent. An increase so marked, excluding chain stores as it does, in the face of the popular supposition that the small town merchant is losing out to the city and the mail-order house, deserves further study.

It seems evident that the increased number of stores means increased specialization. This is evident from an examination of the types of stores. Grocery and other food stores have increased, general stores have declined, in number. The number of places selling automobiles and accessories has of course gained greatly, and restaurants per town have doubled. This trend toward specialization, even within the field of retail trade alone, is an interesting confirmation of the tendency toward speciali-

[1] There were 7,890 such enterprises in the 140 villages, 5,476 devoted to retail trade, exclusive of 300 chain stores in 1930 as listed by Bradstreet. *The Census of Distribution* reports 5,411 retail trade outlets inclusive of chain stores, and the field survey only a few less.

TABLE 68.—RETAIL STORES PER VILLAGE, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

	Number per village		
	1910	1920	1930
REGION			
All regions	27.7	32.1	39.6
Middle Atlantic	27.1	29.9	33.8
South	27.4	33.5	39.6
Middle West	31.6	32.9	33.0
Far West	33.8	39.6	41.1
Size of village			
All villages	27.7	32.1	39.6
Small villages	21.8	22.9	25.7
Medium villages	33.1	35.1	39.6
Large villages	45.7	48.5	53.9

Source: Bradstreet's *Book of Commercial Ratings.*

Bradstreet does not list units of chain stores. There were very few in 1920 but an average of 2.8 per village in 1930. The number of stores and the rate of increase are therefore both actually larger than the table shows.

zation of functions among agricultural villages already pointed out in Chapter IV. Table 69 shows the details of these trends and indicates also the great stability of certain types of enterprise.

TABLE 69.—RETAIL STORES PER VILLAGE, BY TYPE OF STORE,—140 VILLAGES

Type of store	Number per village		
	1910	1920	1930
Total retail	27.7	32.1	39.6
Grocery*	2.4	3.1	4.3
All other food	2.5	2.1	3.3
General	5.5	5.2	4.4
Apparel*	3.7	3.6	3.7
Automobile accessories	0.2	4.4	8.8
Furniture	1.0	1.0	1.0
Lumber and building	1.2	1.2	1.3
Hardware	1.6	1.7	1.8
Feed and farm supplies	1.4	1.4	1.4
Restaurants and soft drinks	1.2	1.6	2.4
All other retail	7.0	6.8	7.2

* Does not include chain stores.

Effect of Changes in Population and Size.—The fortunes of a village as registered in population growth naturally affected the number of stores; but even the places that had declined 10 percent or more in population between 1920 and 1930 increased the number of their retail outlets, though not nearly as rapidly as those villages that gained population at a

more rapid rate than the nation as a whole. Population per store was larger in the latter type also than in villages with a declining population.

	Villages Declining 10 Percent or More in Population		Villages Increasing 16 Percent or More in Population	
	Average No. Stores	Pop. per Store	Average No. Stores	Pop. per Store
1910	37.3	38.1	37.3	37.9
1920	39.6	38.6	47.2	38.6
1930	41.3	30.2	61.1	37.1

The size of the village obviously was one factor that influenced not only the total number of commercial enterprises as Table 68 showed, but also the type. Thus two-fifths of the villages with less than 1,000 population had no furniture store; and large villages had 6.5 apparel stores to 1.5 for small centers.

As a check on these results, a tabulation was made of the average number of retail stores per community in the rural areas of the 33 counties lying in concentric tiers about Milwaukee, Wisconsin. This fan-shaped area cut off on the East by Lake Michigan, was selected in part because it contained a relatively large number of small cities and large towns. It was believed that here, if anywhere outside the industrialized East, the effect of urban competition would make itself felt. But so far as the number of stores is concerned, the results in these counties were the same as in the 140 villages. Moreover this held true regardless of the size of village. In every tier the number of retail establishments increased between 1910 and 1930 for places under 500 population, for places of from 500 to 1,000, and for the medium and large villages of from 1,000 to 2,500 population. Besides, taking all zones together for the three size-groups, the increase in the number of stores was more rapid between 1920 and 1930 than between 1910 and 1920 in three cases out of each four. Indeed, in three of the tiers in the villages of between 1,000 and 2,500 population, the average number of stores decreased slightly between 1910 and 1920 only to gain with a rush in the following decade.[1]

It seems clear in the light of these data that the commercial importance of the agricultural village, measured by the number of retail establishments, is not declining. Rather between 1910 and 1930 the number of stores, not including chain stores, increased at a more rapid rate than the population of the villages. Between 1920 and 1930, the increase was at a considerably more rapid rate than the gain in the population of the entire number of communities.

Effects of the Depression.—This decade's increase in the number of retail stores, and indeed of all commercial enterprises in the 140 villages, may seem surprising in view of the agricultural situation that has existed

[1] Zimmerman secured similar results for the entire state of Minnesota. *Cf.* his *Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota* 1905–1929 (St. Paul; University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, 1930).

for more than a decade. The question naturally arises as to whether the depression has had any effect on trade in these communities. Unfortunately it was not possible within the limitation of this study to analyze the Bradstreet reports year by year. Only such an analysis could answer the question conclusively.

But the field study gathered some evidence on this point. Apparently the high prices of agricultural products from 1917 to 1920 encouraged the opening of a larger number of stores and other commercial establishments in these villages in the early years of the last decade than could be sustained under the economic conditions that have obtained since that time. This was marked in nearly every village in 1930 by one or more empty stores. It was particularly noticeable in the South and in one-crop areas, such as wheat or cotton. Thus in two villages in one cotton state, eight general stores, three groceries, two drug stores and agencies of both Ford and General Motors had undergone bankruptcy between 1925 and 1929. Another southern town of about 1,000 population had seen fifteen bankruptcies since the 1924 survey. In a California community of 3,600 people centering in a village of 1,165, there were seventeen empty stores; but this too was a place depending on one crop, and one that had slumped 90 percent in price since 1920, carrying land values down by the same ratio. Typical of such situations is the following note in a field worker's report:

> S. is a most attractive old southern town. It goes back nearly 200 years in its history and has developed many leaders known to the state or nation. Several of its citizens are listed in "Who's Who in America."
>
> Its' tree-lined streets are graced with old southern colonial residences, large, ample, comfortable, surrounded by lawns and flower gardens.
>
> But one soon notices that the houses need paint or repairs of one sort or another, and that this is more noticeable in the country even than in town. The community gives the impression of having seen better days, and this becomes more evident when one walks through the business blocks. Here ten stores are empty, as well as a former bank building.

These instances are all drawn from villages in one-crop areas. In the others, despite an empty store or two and the difficulties of the period, the count of retail stores as given by Bradstreet shows that most types had increased or held their own throughout the decade, not even counting chain stores. Probably the stores remaining in 1930 were in a relatively stronger position than those in 1920 or those found by the field survey of 1924. The accelerated rate of increase in the number of commercial enterprises in these villages would normally indicate a still further gain the next decade. Whether this actually takes place or not, however, doubtless depends upon the general economic situation. Certainly 1931–32 showed no further expansion.

A few of the communities made marked economic progress despite the depression. Usually diversification of products was the explanation

of their relative prosperity. In a group of communities in the Middle West, diversification had increased one-third since the 1924 survey. The sales of farm implements, including tractors, and household equipment had multiplied, and the proportion of these and of automobiles paid for in cash had increased. A southern county had similarly prospered. Its county seat had doubled in population, passing the 50,000 mark in 1930. The result was the elimination of cotton and increased agricultural income through catering to the city's demand for fruit, vegetables and milk. As a result, new rural schools had been erected, nine new churches had been built and half the remaining churches renovated.

Growth in Chain Store Units: Its Effect.—To some observers the chain store appears to be a greater menace to the village merchant than the agricultural depression. Interest in the chain-store question was acute at the time of the survey. Radio stations were fighting it on the air, and nearly a dozen state legislatures had passed measures levying special taxes on such stores, the constitutionality of which was being attacked.[1] Banks were complaining about the low local balances kept by the chains in the light of the special service they demanded.

There can be no question but that chains of various kinds have invaded the agricultural village in the last decade and especially in the last five or six years. Groceries, clothing, drugs, tobacco, and gas are now sold by them; and even banks are not immune from chain operations. Grocery and clothing units were the ones most frequently found in the agricultural villages. All told, one or more chains were operating in 107 of the 140 communities, more than three-fourths. They were found in all but two of the Middle Atlantic and Far West villages, in three-fifths of the South, and seven-tenths of those of the Middle West. Two-thirds of the thirty-one villages without a unit of some chain were places of under 1,000. In all, there were 300 units in the 107 villages, an average of nearly 3, more than double the number in 1924. It seems clear, therefore, that the chains have taken hold in agricultural villages.

[1] The last six years have seen the beginning of a decided movement to impose discriminatory taxation on chain stores, not only to protect local industry and the small independent owner but to obtain new sources of revenue for the state. Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Indiana have enacted license-tax statutes; and Mississippi, Kentucky, Georgia and North Carolina gross-sales-tax statutes. The constitutionality of these statutes has been hotly contested. While a few have been held nvalid, a standard for such legislation was set when the Supreme Court in 1931 sustained, by a five to four decision, the constitutionality of the Indiana progressive license tax. About the same time the Kentucky court sustained its gross-sales act; and subsequently the North Carolina license tax was held valid. See *40 Yale Law Journal* (New Haven; Yale Law Journal Publ. Co., 1931) #431.

Legislative activity has increased each year. In 1931 thirty-five legislatures introduced bills of an anti-chain-store nature. So far the burdens of various taxes have been relatively light. What limits will be placed by the courts on the severity of the tax is yet to be decided. *Cf. Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Chapter on "Law and Legal Institutions" by Charles E. Clark and William O. Douglas (New York; McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933).

What of the results? It is true that in some places the consequences have been unfortunate. In the county seat town of one eastern county the number of chain stores grew from 2 to 19 between 1921 and 1930. Main Street was a different looking place than it had been. The sons of the former proprietors who had expected to own their own stores were working for one of the chains or had migrated. Everything that has been logically charged to the chain store seemed to be true in this town. A similar situation existed in a few of the villages, but not in many. Rather, many of these villages seemed less worried by the chain than in 1924 when there were fewer than half as many of them. There were several reasons for this.

In the first place, as has been noted, local enterprises had increased despite the chains. Again, the merchants of a large number of villages had joined one or another of the independent coöperatives or voluntary chains. These groups, at present numbering nearly 400, now operate more grocery units than the ordinary chains,[1] and in 1929–30 were doing an annual business of close to $700,000,000. The individual units buy coöperatively, use the same type of advertising and the same merchandising techniques. Some of these voluntary chains covered whole regions or more, others were county affairs. In village after village this procedure had been successful; and it was approved by community leaders who spoke of lowered costs to the consumer, but adequate profit for the retailer, as well as salvation from ruthless chain competition. These villages considered the chain-store problem as solved and themselves as benefited in the solution. Merchants concerned voiced the same sentiment. "If the chains beat us it's our own fault," field workers were told again and again.

In one village in each region, local stores had made a successful stand against the chains without joining any coöperative. Excellent merchandising, "top-notch efficiency and progressiveness," as one field worker put it, coupled in one case with the example of a nearby village that had been greatly harmed by the chains, accounted for these cases.

Merchants in several places explained their success in holding their trade against the chains in part on the ground of strong antagonism toward the city. The chains were looked upon as an urban assault on the community, and the people rallied to the support of the home-owned stores. The antagonism to the chains was often stronger when their policy was to abstain from all coöperation in community affairs than when a reverse policy obtained. One large chain, wherever found, was locally commended for its interest in and support of all worth-while community movements and affairs.

Another reason for the lessened concern over the chains lay in the fact that they attracted people to the village who patronized local non-com-

[1] *The United States Daily*, Washington, D. C., July 13, 1931; and *Monthly Letter*, National City Bank, New York City, August, 1931.

peting stores. Chains were also commended when they retained former owners of stores as their managers.

In considering this whole question of the effect of chain stores on the merchandising of agricultural villages, it should not be forgotten that these stores constituted barely 5 percent of the number of retail stores, though their share of the total business was probably about one-tenth. Nor must it be forgotten that, because of some of the reasons given above, chain stores have not everywhere captured the trade of the community. A canvass of nearly 15,000 rural homes by the *Women's World* of Chicago showed that 62.8 percent patronized local dealers exclusively, and 14 percent used both chain stores and local dealers. Less than one-fourth, therefore, dealt exclusively with the chain stores.

COMPETITION OF TOWNS AND CITIES

There remains the final question as to whether or not the competition of towns and cities is adversely affecting the merchant in the agricultural village. No categorical answer can be given to this question, though in the main the reply is in the affirmative. Three sources of data will be brought to bear on this point. First, the data from the Census of Distribution by tiers, according to the technique developed in the last chapter, will be used. Secondly, the results of the field surveys in the villages and counties will be given. Finally, *The Census of Distribution* data for the 140 villages will be analyzed.

Per Capita Sales in Urban and Outlying Counties.—The analysis of population characteristics, farm production, and certain cultural factors like school attendance, on the basis of concentric tiers of counties around cities, showed that the urban influence extends unmistakably a considerable distance from the City County. The effect of the urban center on retail sales is more delimited. The retail sales per capita in the City County are $489; in Tiers One to Four, for all eighteen areas, they are respectively $301, $289, $313, and $326. These figures would seem to indicate that the pull of the city's retail stores declines after the second tier. Interestingly enough, the number of retail outlets for every thousand inhabitants follows the same trend. It is 13.1 in the City County; and in the other tiers, 12.5, 12.0, 12.9 and 12.7.

On analyzing the total of retail sales into its components, the same essential pattern in the main appears. The sales per capita by tiers, for the eighteen areas, for the six most important types of stores, are shown in Table 70.

In these four categories—food, general merchandise, apparel, and furniture and household stores—Tier Two marks a break in the trend of the index, with both Tiers One and Three showing higher sales. For the automotive group, the break occurs in Tier One. This uniformity

TABLE 70.—RETAIL SALES PER CAPITA IN VARIOUS TYPES OF STORES, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES, 1930,—18 AREAS

Type of store	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
Food	$101.61	$62.34	$55.01	$60.09	$56.00
Automotive	100.16	69.74	70.53	76.32	90.98
General merchandise	74.77	31.84	31.72	40.89	44.05
General country	8.23	25.07	28.38	27.04	31.48
Apparel	45.41	15.91	14.75	15.96	13.59
Furniture and household	26.29	9.90	10.19	9.97	12.71

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Census of Distribution: 1930.* Preliminary reports.

in behavior would seem to bear out the conclusion that urban influence in retail merchandising declines after the second tier.

An examination of the table will, however, indicate that whereas the inhabitants of the outer tiers seem to depend almost entirely on their local dealer for their automotive supplies, the urban emporium and the mail-order house combined tend to reduce the sales of the clothing, and of the furniture and household dealers, outside the City County. The lower food costs in the outer tiers are a reflection of the amount of food raised on the farm for home consumption, plus the considerable amount bought in general stores.

Regional analyses of each of these groups indicate that the tier story for the eighteen areas as a whole described fairly the condition in each geographic division. The South, which shows the lowest value of retail sales per capita in every other category, indicates its continuing dependence on general country stores for its supplies by maintaining higher per capita retail sales in this traditional category than any other region. These regional comparisons are given in Appendix D.

TABLE 71.—PROPORTION OF TOTAL RETAIL SALES MADE BY SIX SPECIFIED TYPES OF STORES, BY TIERS OF COUNTIES, 1930,—18 AREAS

Type of store	City county	Tiers of counties				
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent	5 Percent
Food	20.8	20.7	19.0	19.2	17.2	20.6
Automotive	20.5	23.2	24.4	24.4	27.9	22.3
General merchandise	15.3	10.6	11.0	13.1	13.5	13.3
General country	1.7	8.3	9.8	8.6	9.7	5.2
Apparel	9.3	5.0	4.8	4.8	3.7	7.2
Furniture and household	5.4	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.0	4.3

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Census of Distribution: 1930.* Preliminary reports.

It is also possible to analyze tier variation of retail sales by considering the proportion of total retail sales contributed by each category of stores. Table 71 gives these values for the eighteen areas as a whole.

This table indicates again the essentially local character of the purchase of automotive supplies as contrasted with the dependence on city or mail-order house for apparel and furniture. In fact, the proportion of total retail sales attributable to automotive demands increases from tier to tier outward. This trend is regionally consistent, and emphasizes the importance of the role of the automobile and truck in our rural districts.

The average values of sales per store for the eighteen areas, were $37,200, $24,200, $24,100, $24,300, and $25,000 for the City County and out through Tier Four, inclusive. This index again has a minimum value in Tier Two; and also shows the striking uniformity of the size of stores outside the urban center.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the average sales per store in the 140 villages in 1929 averaged $36,693 or almost as much as the sales per store in the City County. Stores in the large villages did better than a $40,000 business on the average in 1929. Even in the small villages the average per store exceeded $25,000. The average sales per store in the counties as given above are therefore probably reduced by hamlet and open country businesses.

These data give no trends as no census of distribution was undertaken prior to 1930. They appear to show, however, that the pull of city stores does not extend beyond the second tier except for purchases of furniture and apparel. They indicate clearly that the per capita sales figures of cities are augmented by the purchases of country people; but they afford no basis for determining how much of the difference between per capita sales in the City County and the outlying counties is due to rural purchases and how much to possible greater wealth in the city.[1] Furthermore, the county data include the results from many villages, towns and even small cities. These data, on the basis of tiers, give no clue to the problems of the competition of village with village or of the village with the town or small city. It is necessary to pursue this inquiry farther, therefore, by means of the results secured from the field survey.

Enlarging Trade Areas.—One answer to this question, especially as it relates to inter-village and village-town competition, is contained in the story of village trade areas. It will be remembered that Chapter IV showed that the community areas of the 140 villages were as large as, or larger than, in 1924. At the same time, in the majority of cases, the trade-service areas especially were more difficult to determine than in 1924.

[1] One possible clue to this factor lies in the very few studies on a house-to-house basis of the amount purchased by selected farm and village families from city stores and mail order houses. Various commercial estimates put the total of these purchases at amounts ranging from 3 to 10 billions.

In many places the automobile was obliterating the old trade-area lines. The farmers were "shopping around," and their loyalty was no longer to a center but to an institution. Business men in nine villages reported larger service lines, but no increases in business. They had more customers from neighboring communities, but fewer close to home. One Pennsylvania merchant said, "We are not a trade center any more. We are a trade channel."[1] Dry goods and, to a less extent, furniture stores seemed to be most affected by this tendency and by urban competition.

Despite this trend, in areas of small farms, such as in the irrigated sections and in truck and fruit districts, the same number of services seem to be required in a group of contiguous villages, even though the services overlap.

This is the popular idea of change in rural trade habits. But it is not the whole story. A number of villages reported no change in the trade situation and, where the dollar value of business was smaller, avered that this was owing to lower prices and to the economic depression. Intensive house-to-house studies in Dane County, Wisconsin, proved that here at least this claim was true.

Moreover, one-fourth of the villages reported both increased farmer trade and larger trade areas as well as more trade from outside the community. Various factors seemed to explain this situation. One was distance. Increased trade areas were found in about one-ninth of the villages that are less than twenty-five miles from a principal retail trade center as defined by the map supplement of the *Market Data Handbook* of the United States Department of Commerce; but in from one-fourth to three-tenths of those that are more than twenty-five miles from such cities or towns. The proportion with decreasing trade areas, however, showed little variation when measured in this way.

In the second place, the chief stores in every one of these places were conducted according to modern merchandising methods typified by improvement of stocks and the physical appearance of stores and goods. "The farmer doesn't burn up gas shopping around if he can get what he wants in his home town," said the owner of one up-to-date village department store. "We don't worry about the auto in A——," remarked another of this newer generation of merchants. "It brings far more trade to us than it takes away. A lot of our customers would never get here if they had to drive a horse and buggy. Nor does our being on a cash basis hurt, as I really believe our patrons have come to prefer it." "I'm more than holding my own," said another department store man in an eastern village

[1] In a few places the automobile had affected trade adversely, due to its employment to perform service for farmers which formerly each person did separately. Thus in one case a creamery used trucks to collect milk, obviating the necessity for each patron to drive into the village each day with his milk. In several cases school consolidation, with the accompanying school bus, had a similar result. This, obviating the necessity for the daily trip resulted in a dropping off in trade at the village stores.

of about 1,200 population, "and in addition we're getting quite some business from city people who have found that our prices are a bit lower, and who would rather drive to a pretty village like this than put up with the congested traffic and bad parking conditions in R——. Every worthwhile store on Main Street will tell you the same thing." This urban trade does not refer to transient or tourist business which all villages, except those remote from good roads, enjoyed to a greater or less extent.

A village banker declared, "After our stores modernized, our village added 200 farm families to our regular customers." Again, it was frequently stated, "People trade at home much more than they did two years ago." An editor summed up his local situation in these words: "When the automobile brought us into competition with the outside world the town was dazed. Then stores modernized and prices were reduced. A couple of the inefficient places gave up. There was one consolidation. Now we're served by the optimum number of agencies and are holding our own against all comers." The president of a Farm Bureau declared, "Urban competition forced our merchants to become efficient. That stopped their exploitation of the farmer and now we're all satisfied." In several villages the improvement began after trade surveys had been made, in one instance at the expense of the municipality. In four villages the chain stores had given up competition and closed their stores; but in most places there seemed to be room for both the local merchants and the chains.

One southern village of 2,200 increased the community area from 108 to 210 square miles. The Chamber of Commerce members attributed this improvement to good roads and the automobile, modern merchandising, better transportation facilities, and the decline of a smaller competing center—a decline to which the aggressive policy of these merchants contributed.

The decline of these smaller places of from 100 to 300 or 400 population, or occasionally even larger, was mentioned more than once. This decline, and the attendant increase in the trade areas of villages, was sometimes accelerated by the removal to the village of some tradesman from a minor center, who usually brought his clientele with him to the village.[1]

The opposite situation was thus described by the postmaster in one village: "Our merchants are so fearful of losing business they try to stock everything. Both butchers have put in grocery counters. One grocery has

[1] This absorption of territory resulting from the decline of smaller places, also took place in a few instances in former lumbering areas. The former lumbering center failed to adapt itself to the needs of farmers moving into cut-over areas, and the nearest farmers' town profited accordingly. This agrees with the findings of the study of industrial villages by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, which found that farmers seldom patronized the stores in this type of community. *Cf.* Brunner, *Industrial Village Churches* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930) pp. 21–24.

added a meat counter, another dry goods. The result is, nobody has a good supply of anything and the mail-order business, judged by money orders, has doubled in the last two years."

In such places the chains or competing centers or both were making serious inroads into the former volume of business. But such places were in a minority. The more usual situation is as described. It was found in a majority of the villages, including the 35 that had markedly enlarged their trade areas between 1924 and 1930. It is not possible to determine how far these places are typical of all villages, but they do indicate a definite trend and one that will expand.[1]

Where Goods Are Bought.—The best method of appraising the influence of all types of competition, of course, is to secure from each family definite information as to where each of the articles it needs is bought. This was done in one of the five counties intensively studied (Walworth, Wisconsin). This county had been previously surveyed by Dr. C. J. Galpin in 1914. Here 1,034 farm families were interviewed, all of whom lived in the trade areas of several villages or towns of from 500 to 4,000 population. The buying habits of about one-sixth of these families, all lying within the area of one of the 140 villages, with a population of 2,235, were investigated in detail.[2]

It was found that all these families used their nearest village or town center for some service. In addition, two-fifths bought some goods from nearby crossroads or hamlet stores. One-half did some purchasing in cities from 20 to 80 miles distant from their farm home. Nearly three-fifths patronized mail-order houses, spending in 1929 an average of $59 a family. The average number of centers used by each family in meeting its needs, including the social needs, such as education, religion and the like, was 3.7. The number of centers used increased with the distance of the farm home from the village center, which is interesting in view of the procedure of the present investigation and its predecessors in 1921 and 1924 to include within the community or trade areas only that territory within which a majority of the people patronized a majority of the services offered by the village.[3]

The families studied in detail lived at the edge of the community area and therefore used more centers than the others. These were asked to indicate what changes in their use of buying centers had taken place in the past fifteen years. The chief changes in buying habits concerned clothing, especially women's; dry goods; tires; and groceries. The use of the city for the first two of these items, and the mail order house for the

[1] *Cf.* Radio address by Dr. Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D. C., June 21, 1931. Mimeographed.

[2] The complete results of this study will appear as a part of a research bulletin by J. H. Kolb and Robert A. Polsen: *Trends in Town and Country Relations* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Agricultural Experiment Station, Forthcoming).

[3] *Cf.* chapter iv.

second, had greatly increased. Groceries, which one-fourth of the families had purchased from mail-order houses in 1915 were bought exclusively in the home community in 1930. Four-fifths of the families using mail-order houses did so because of the lower prices they believed obtained. Others were influenced by considerations of convenience, quality, and breadth of selection. "Wider selection," "better prices" and the lure of recreational trips accounted for the use of urban centers for shopping.

In another of the intensive county surveys, 276 families were found living in 1931 on the same farms they had occupied in 1921. There was little change in their chief center of trade. Thirty-two, or 11.6 percent, as against 18, or 6.5 percent, used the county-seat city of 50,000 population; but some of these families were nearer to this county seat than to any other center. Twenty-one families, as against 14 in 1921, used their neighborhood store for most of their supplies. Villages claimed the rest; 244 families, or 88.4 percent, in 1921, and 223, or 80.8 percent, in 1931.

To supplement these intimate data gathered by interviews, questionnaires were sent to some tens of thousands of farm, village, town and city homes. It developed from the answers that three-fifths of the farm homes, two-thirds of those in villages of less than 1,000 and four-fifths of those in medium and large villages, did most of their buying in their home community. Almost all of the rest was done in neighboring villages, towns or cities. About one family in 100 divided their purchasing equally between the two.[1] Table 72 summarizes these results.[2]

TABLE 72.—DISTRIBUTION OF BUYING OF FARM, VILLAGE, TOWN AND CITY FAMILIES BETWEEN HOME TOWN AND NEIGHBORING TOWN, 1930

Residence of families	Total families	Percent buying in		
		Home town	Neighboring town	Both
Total	23,504	77.7	21.4	0.9
Farm	6,232	59.9	38.5	1.6
Under 1,000 population	3,870	66.2	32.8	1.0
1,000 to 2,500	2,728	81.8	17.5	0.7
2,500 to 5,000	2,163	85.0	14.0	1.0
5,000 to 10,000	2,089	84.1	15.5	0.4
10,000 to 25,000	1,988	92.5	7.1	0.4
25,000 and over	4,434	97.0	2.7	0.3

Source: Special study by *The Womans World,* Chicago, 1930.

[1] No attempt was made to define the phrase "most of your buying."

[2] In 1924 the question as to where open country and village families did their trading was answered by asking some 5,000 high-school students. It was not possible to follow this procedure in 1930, since most of the field work was done in the summer when schools were closed. The 1930 questionnaire study was made in coöperation with *The Woman's World,* Chicago, which has published the results in great detail in six pamphlets.

In addition, some 5,000 families in places of less than 10,000 population replied in detail as to where they bought specific articles such as furniture, hardware, kitchen cabinets, paint, jewelry and silverware, and men's, women's and children's clothing. As is shown in Appendix D, it is the articles that are seldom needed but that call for larger unit outlays that tend to be purchased in the larger centers. This is partly, of course, because centers of less than 1,000 population, as already indicated, do not possess such specialized stores as furniture and jewelry.

These results agree fairly closely with those obtained by personal interviews at 1,328 farm homes in the Middle West conducted by representatives of *Successful Farming* (Des Moines, Iowa), in August 1930, and summarized in Table 73. This table is also interesting in that it indicates the proportion of people who use more than one center, since the total percentages add to more than 100 in each case. This is a rough measure of the overlapping between competing centers. It is interesting that the greatest amount of "shopping around" is indicated in the items for the purchase of which women are primarily responsible.

TABLE 73.—PROPORTION OF 1,328 FARM FAMILIES BUYING SPECIFIED GOODS IN CENTERS OF VARIOUS SIZES, 1930

Goods bought	Percent buying in centers of							
	Total	Under 1,000	1,000 to 2,500	Total in villages	2,500 to 10,000	10,000 to 25,000	25,000 to 100,000	100,000 and over
Gasoline and lubricating oil	107	47	22	69	35	3		
Hammers, drills, saws, etc	104	48	24	72	27	5	*	*
Paints and varnishes	104	40	26	66	27	7	1	3
Farm implements and machines	107	46	27	73	28	4	1	1
Groceries	128	59	28	87	33	6	1	1
Auto tires and accessories	105	37	22	59	32	7	4	3
Women's house clothes	106	22	23	45	42	11	4	4
Automobiles	102	30	25	55	34	8	2	3
Furniture	103	20	28	48	31	12	4	8
Women's dress clothes	119	13	22	35	47	17	10	10

Source: Special study by *Successful Farming*, Des Moines, 1930.

It should be noted that there are no data as to the proportion of these families living within the trade areas of the places of these various sizes. A certain proportion of the people use more than one center; this shows in the excess over 100 percent in the Total column.

* Less than 1 percent.

Distances Travelled for Shopping.—The few studies that have been made of the distance travelled to purchase various commodities confirm the results of the preceding studies. Among 325 New York farm families, groceries were purchased about 5 miles, men's and children's clothing, 8 miles, furniture, 10 miles and women's silk dresses and coats, 17 miles

from the farm.[1] The study by *Successful Farming* already referred to, found that the 1,328 families studied went an average distance of 19.5 miles for women's dress goods, 14 miles for furniture, 7.5 miles for groceries and about 6 miles for hardware and farm implements.[2]

The distances travelled to make purchases should be compared with the distance farm families live from their principal trading center. Unfortunately, neither of these studies secured information on this point. However, *The Woman's World*, of Chicago, found that among nearly 5,000 farm families in the Middle West and Middle Atlantic states, 21.5 percent lived within 2 miles of their chief trading center, 28.3 percent lived from 3 to 5 miles, 28.2 percent lived from 6 to 10 miles, 15.9 percent lived from 11 to 20 miles, and the rest 21 miles or more away.

Village Merchandising Readjusted.—It seems quite evident from these data that there is enough trade in these village-centered rural communities to keep the increasing number of stores operating on a basis profitable enough for them to stay in business.

The data do not present an entirely consistent story, but the main outlines are clear. The farmer may no longer trade at a single center. Instead he may patronize two or three villages or towns. But he is tending more and more to *some* village or town for each of his major intere ts. The automobile has made the factor of distance of less importance than it was. The economic importance of a trade center is to be measured more by the volume of business it does than by the area it serves. But in the process, rural trade, *i.e.*, country and village alike, has risen to levels sufficient to increase the number of stores between 1920 and 1930. Moreover one-fourth of the villages, it will be recalled, could define their trade areas with accuracy. They had increased the number of their patrons and the volume of their business. They had adjusted quickly to changed conditions, and had won the approval of the people of their areas. Perhaps the other places are simply those that have not made an inevitable adjustment; and these thirty-five may therefore represent the trend of the next decade. The data are insufficient to determine this point.

The possibility, however, must be considered. There are a number of evidences that the village is not going to surrender its place in the rural sun without a struggle. Business men are alert to the problem, and are considering it individually and collectively; and data on sales gathered by the 1930 census of distribution show that an appreciable minority of villages are enjoying a phenominal amount of trade from their rural hinterlands. Combinations of village stores into coöperative buying organizations are increasing with great rapidity.

[1] *Cf.* Canon, *Sizes of Purchasing Centers of New York Farm Families* (Ithaca; Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1928).

[2] In both these studies, arithmetical averages were used. If worked on the basis of medians, the distances would be shorter; and in the *Successful Farming* sample, groceries would show the shortest distance travelled for purchases.

There is no essential reason why other villages cannot do what these thirty-five, discovered in this survey, and those located by the Census have done. Their success is an index of the appreciation of such methods by the farmers, and perhaps of their desire for such service as these places are offering. It is quite possible that the methods of successful villages will be imitated, and gains through coöperation will stimulate further efforts along these lines.

Further inquiry as to the causes for the decline of such villages as seem to have lost, showed two possible explanations that should be tested out in further studies. In the first place, it may be that the changes reflect not so much the actual decline of these villages as a rise in the standard of living which has been checked by the intensification of the economic depression which found these villages somewhat over-extended. Again there is reason to believe that a careful analysis of the declines that have occurred would show that a large number have taken place where a village is located near to a large center, but too far away from it to serve as a commuting center, or where it is between two larger places. The density of villages, which in turn is an index of the age of the region, densities being higher in older sections, is an important factor.[1]

The outstanding fact in the rural merchandising situation, so far as presented, is this tendency to adjust to the situation. Just as villages have increasingly come to specialize in their general services to the total community, so they are tending to specialize in their merchandising. All villages furnish the elementary services to people nearby. Some do only this. Others specialize in certain services to the people of a large area; and this specialization is quite evident in the data from Bradstreet (see Appendix D) and from inspection of the detailed reports of *The Census of Distribution.*

Villages with like services tend to compete only when they are near together. This competition is usually for the less essential articles and services, such as dress clothes, expensive furniture, banking and the like. Where there is a better division of services and labor it makes, in normal times, for prosperity for all such villages that have adjusted their services to the situation.

Retailers Younger.—The younger retailers represent, of course, a point of view that would have been quite revolutionary to the general storekeeper of the early years of the century who looked upon the hinterland of his village as his to serve or exploit. It is perhaps surprising that the adjustment has been made as well as it has. The special census tabulation for the 177 agricultural villages gives a clue to one reason why the change has come about. Between 1920 and 1930 the average age of the

[1] *Cf.* Brunner, *Village Communities* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927), p. 16; and Fry, *American Villagers* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1925), pp. 29–34.

proprietors of village stores remained practically unchanged, going from 45.6 to 45.5 years, an average from which there was only slight regional variation. Such a slight change in the average age of retailers after a ten year interval obviously means that many stores had new proprietors. Practically half, 48.8 percent, of these proprietors were under forty-five years of age. Many of those forty-five and over were milliners and dressmakers, proprietors of "domestic and personal service establishments" and others not actively engaged in the retail trade of the village. It was the unanimous testimony of field workers that in the villages that had forged ahead, and in some of those that were holding their own against competition, a new generation of merchants was at the helm.

Changing Buying Habits.—Adjustments to changing conditions demanded of rural storekeepers, if they were to succeed, have not been concerned only with combating competition. The buying habits of their own constituents have been changing. The home demonstration agents, advertisements, the radio, the moving pictures, the increasing contacts of farmer with villager, and of both with the city have made rural people demand that their merchants keep abreast of the current vogue. No wonder that elderly people interviewed by field workers would list among the major changes the fact that "you can't tell a farmer or a farmer's wife or girl from townsfolk any more."

Coincident with these changes have come others reported by the merchants. Women do far more of the shopping than formerly, now that they can drive the family car. They combine the men's errands with their own. Furthermore, they are far better judges of quality, and know what they want. "I sell a little fewer units, but far better quality," field workers heard from shoe, hat, and clothing store proprietors. Women buy more ready-to-wear goods. The sale of goods in bolt decreased everywhere, especially in the Middle Atlantic and Far West regions. The sale of packaged goods has greatly increased, as has that of canned goods; though here the increase is more rapid among village than among farm families. That village stores had adjusted to these changing demands is attested not only by the extent to which they had held their trade, but also by field workers who constantly reported that the quality and range of choice in the goods of stores of the villages visited had improved since 1924. Naturally such things influence receipts.

PER CAPITA SALES

Thus far in this discussion of the rural merchandising situation in 1930, and of the trends that were discernable, nothing has been said of the actual sales of the stores nor the expenditures of the people within the 140 village communities. The only data on this important point are from *The United States Census of Distribution* which unfortunately contains no information as to trends, since it was taken for the first time in 1930.

The data are significant however in emphasizing the place of a village as a service station. Retail sales for the small villages averaged slightly in excess of $500,000 per village. Medium-sized villages nearly doubled this figure, and large villages in turn nearly doubled the average of medium-sized villages. All told, therefore, the stores in the 140 agricultural villages rang up $145,330,500 on their cash registers in 1929, or about 1 percent of the rural retail trade total, 15.4 billions, which in turn was 30 percent of the national total of 50 billions. Inventories averaged 23.3 percent of total sales. This gives an index as to turnover of stock, which was slowest in the South. Salaries were 7 percent of total sales, a figure somewhat under the national ratio of 10.6 percent.[1]

But the sales per capita are of greatest interest from the standpoint of this study. *The Census of Distribution* perforce figured the per capita sales of any given municipality on the basis of the population of that municipality, as it had no way of determining the population of the trade area. Hence it arrived at a figure of $588.33 for the per capita retail trade of cities of over 10,000 population. This figure therefore includes the purchases of rural people in cities. The total rural figure is $243.87 per capita. The per capita retail sales for the entire nation are $407.53.

The strategic place of the village in rural retail trade is clearly to be seen from *The Census of Distribution* figures.[2] The average per capita sales are $768.19 when based on the village population. The Far West exceeds this figure by nearly $100, the Middle West by $5. Even the lowest region, the South, sold $716.29 on this basis.

However, this study enables the comparisons to be made on the basis of the population of the total community as determined by field work.[3] On this basis the per capita sales figure is $301.45. Each region except the South considerably exceeds this average, as Table 74 shows. The low average in the South, $207.51, is due in part to the high proportion of negroes in the total population, this group having low purchasing power.[4]

In reality these figures are lower than they should be because they do not include the sales of any open-country trade outlets, such as hamlet or crossroads general stores, gas stations, roadside markets and the like, nor city purchases. These per capita sales varied somewhat according to the distance of the village center from a city, especially one of *under* 25,000

[1] The total number of employees plus proprietors agrees almost exactly with the total number employed in trade as reported by special tabulation for the 140 villages.

[2] Data on small villages will not be published by *The Census of Distribution*, and were specially secured for this study by the courtesy of the Director of the Census, W. M. Steuart; the Director of the Census of Distribution, Robert MacFall; and Charles D. Bohannan, in charge of Rural Retail Distribution. Their coöperation is gratefully acknowledged.

[3] See chapter iv.

[4] This does not show so clearly in the retail sales when figured on the basis of village population because the average southern village serves far more people than those of other regions.

TABLE 74.—PER CAPITA RETAIL SALES IN THE 140 VILLAGES AND IN THE RURAL UNITED STATES, BY REGION, 1930

Region	140 villages		Rural U.S.
	Total community	Village proper*	
All regions	$301.45	$768.19	$240.72
Middle Atlantic	316.06	720.58	309.08
South	207.51	716.29	168.10
Middle West	344.86	773.93	283.77
Far West	356.16	861.73	317.21

* As explained in the text, the census bases per capita sales only on the population of the municipality where reporting stores are located. Per capita sales figured on the basis of the community population are therefore more accurate. Per capita sales based on village population only are given to allow comparison with *The Census of Distribution* for comparable communities. These figures do not include sales of stores in the open-country portions of these communities, and therefore understate the actual amount of per capita sales. As stated in the text, these per capita figures do not include purchases made by rural people in cities.

population. In such cases the per capita sales to the entire community were $263.32 when the village was less than twenty-five miles, but practically $327 when more than twenty-five miles from a city of less than 25,000 population.

It will be observed from Table 74 that the per capita sales on the community basis exceed the per capita sales to all rural people as regionally determined. This raises an interesting question. It is possible that those farmers living within the limits of village and town trade areas, with ready access to such centers and their shipping facilities, are economically better advantaged than those farther away. It must be remembered, in evaluating the total rural figure for per capita sales for any region or state, that they may include many relatively disadvantaged but frequently large groups, such as the Appalachian and Ozark highlanders, the Negroes, Mexicans, Indians, and industrial villagers, amounting all told to between one-quarter and one-third of the total population in places of less than 10,000 people. When this factor is considered, it will be seen that the balance of the rural people present a market opportunity little if any poorer than the urban.

Any comparison of the urban and rural markets should also take into account that farmers and villagers raise far more of their own food than do urbanites. The food purchases of rural people are confined more to processed goods, since their gardens, orchards and dairys supply them with fresh vegetables, fruits and milk. This in large measure accounts for the $85 difference in favor of the city people on per capita food costs. Further, food costs more in the city than in the country.

As Table 75 shows, there is considerable variation in per capita sales according to the size of village, especially when the calculation is on the basis of the total population of the community.

TABLE 75.—PER CAPITA RETAIL SALES, AND RATIO OF SALES TO INVENTORY AND TO SALARIES PAID IN VILLAGES, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE, 1930,—140 VILLAGES

Region and size of village	Per capita sales		Ratio of retail sales to	
	Total community	Village proper	Inventory	Salaries
Middle Atlantic				
Small	$268.30	$649.29	*	5.1
Medium	309.52	741.92	19.6	6.9
Large	402.38	769.33	19.2	6.9
South				
Small	142.34	714.62	*	4.1
Medium	176.30	693.10	18.6	7.2
Large	254.79	731.23	19.5	6.4
Middle West				
Small	277.98	674.48	*	6.2
Medium	319.34	734.06	19.7	6.9
Large	426.21	882.35	17.5	7.5
Far West				
Small	273.17	950.20	*	7.1
Medium	326.82	897.66	16.8	6.8
Large	396.42	832.22	16.5	8.7

Cf. footnote of Table 74.
* Not reported.

This variation by size indicates further that the greater number and wider variety of services in the medium and large villages hold a greater amount of the community's trade at home, and also attract trade from smaller centers.

Population growth and decline also influenced per capita retail sales. The 27 villages that gained population between 1920 and 1930 more rapidly than the nation as a whole, one-third of them in the South, showed per capita sales on the basis of the total community population of $314.40. The 19 villages that lost 10 percent or more of their previous population in this decade had per capita retail sales of $237.90. The financial resources of the community, at least as measured by per capita retail sales, seem to be associated with the pupil-teacher ratio, as Appendix G shows. The higher the per capita sales, the smaller were the number of pupils per teacher.

Summary.—From the facts about rural merchandising presented in this discussion a few things especially stand out. The amount which the open country and small towns contribute to the total retail business of the nation is seen to be very considerable. Even eliminating rural purchases in cities of 10,000 and over population this trade amounted to one-third of the national total. The importance of sustaining rural purchasing power is therefore apparent. Rural retail trade is being conducted by an increasing number of stores whose average sales are little below the average sales of urban stores. Chain stores have increased in number,

especially in centers of over 1,000 population, but local merchants in many places have adopted successful techniques for meeting the competition of the chains. There was less concern over this issue than in 1925.

Urban competition, including that of the mail order house, was present but affected chiefly two or three retail lines, and here again up-to-date merchandising and specialization of services was helping the village and town store retain a considerable share of the local trade. Trade areas, though somewhat less important than in 1925, were found in a great majority of cases to be stable or enlarging. In short, village merchandising was adjusting itself to the automobile age.

BANKING AND CREDIT AGENCIES

Business and agriculture alike need credit and the services of banks, and all but the smallest one of the 140 villages had at least one bank. The history of these institutions between the 1924 and 1930 surveys shows in miniature what had been happening to the rural banks of the nation.

Perhaps more than any other institution, banks showed the effects of the depression. The decade of 1921–1931 will go down in modern economic history as a period of unprecedented mortality among banks. Failures averaged about 600 a year during that period, and in 1931 exceeded 2,000. A great majority of these failures were in places of under 10,000 population.

The 140 villages give a clear indication of these difficulties. One-fifth of the 254 banks found in 1924 had failed or merged by 1930. Failures outnumbered mergers three to two. One-sixth changed management or were otherwise reorganized. Among these were 23, eleven of them in California and the rest in the Middle West and South, that were taken over by city banks or urban-managed chains. Nine new banks were formed between 1924 and 1930, so that the net loss was 40. Of the 214 banks left in that year, 28 failed and 3 were merged between July 1930 and February 1932, leaving 183, or 1.3 banks per village. Thus between 1924 and 1932, three banks in every ten ceased operation. The mortality was highest in the Middle West and South, both in the inter-survey period and in 1931. Tables 76 and 77 detail these facts.

Interestingly enough, the mortality was lowest in the small villages. Conversely, it was highest in the medium and large villages. Competition was probably a factor here, as a majority of the failures and mergers occurred in villages that in 1924 had 3 or 4 banks, and most of the rest in places that had had two.

It had been hoped that the capital, assets, deposits, and ratio of liquid to total assets of the village banks for 1924 and 1930 could be compared. Branch banks, however, could not, or would not, give figures for local branches, and the forms of statements of others had frequently been altered. So far as could be judged from partial data, however, total

TABLE 76.—CHANGES IN VILLAGE BANKS FROM 1924 TO 1930, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Number villages	Total banks 1924	1924 to 1930			Total banks 1930	Failed or merged 1931	Total March 1, 1932
			Failed	Merged	New			
All regions	140	254	30	19	9	214	31*	183
Middle Atlantic	28	38	0	0	3	41	2	39
South	30	51	8	3	2	42	8	34
Middle West	60	125	19	13	3	96	20*	76
Far West	22	40	3	3	1	35	1	34

* Three of these were mergers.

TABLE 77.—BANKS PER VILLAGE, AND FREQUENCY, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Average banks per village			Villages with specified number of banks									
				None		One		Two		Three		Four	
	1924	1930	1932	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	1.8	1.5	1.3	1	1	44	70	78	63	15	6	2	0
Middle Atlantic	1.4	1.5	1.4	0	0	19	16	9	11	0	1	0	0
South	1.7	1.4	1.1	1	1	12	16	13	13	4	0	0	0
Middle West	2.1	1.6	1.3	0	0	6	28	44	28	9	4	1	0
Far West	1.8	1.6	1.5	0	0	7	10	12	11	2	1	1	0

deposits in the local banks in these villages remained at the 1924 level of about 120 million dollars. The average bank in the two regions of the West was capitalized as in 1924, including surplus, at between $50,000 and $60,000. The South showed slightly higher figures. In the Middle Atlantic region, where there were no failures or mergers and few reorganizations, capitalization increased 50 percent to $150,000, and average deposits, 34 percent to slightly above a million per bank, or about double the figure in the other regions for those banks for which comparable data were available.

So much has been written in regard to the crisis in banking during the 1920's that little needs to be added in a report necessarily so brief. Failures and mergers were owing in very few cases to departure from normal banking practice. They were a reflection rather of the decline in land values and in the prices of farm products resulting in the so-called freezing of the banks' assets. In some cases too the stock-market crash was a factor, because of heavy losses by important patrons of the local banks. Even such banks as survived were frequently crippled in caring for the normal business demands of their communities.

Bank failures always mean inconvenience and suffering; but in small centers, banking is almost a personal service and the failure is relatively more disastrous than in the city. The result of this situation was that some of these failures led to the suicide of bank officials even where the causes of the collapse were in no sense criminal.

It is the weakness of the rural banking situation in some localities that was partly responsible for the extension of urban influence or control over the banks of some villages.

It may be pointed out, however, that the urban control of village banks, which is an obvious trend, often resulted in real hardship, because of the new management's lack of information in regard to agriculture and farmers, and because of the delay involved in securing action on loan applications. Typical of incidents gathered in nearly every community so served are these: In one village seven of the best farmers, each owning from 240 to 360 acres of unencumbered land, were refused loans of from $400 to $800 for seed and fertilizer in the spring of 1930. In the South, each urban controlled bank in the villages studied refused loans to cotton growers. In California, such banks would loan only to fruit farmers who promised to uproot orchards and plant cotton because this, to the bank, represented diversification, and this at a time when the Federal Farm Board was seeking to reduce the cotton acreage in the United States. All banks were declining to make, or were restricting the extent of, their long-term loans.

It appears quite clear from this brief summary of the banking situation in these communities that the banks have suffered far more than the retail merchants from the depression, and that relatively they have withstood the advances of urban banks into the villages less successfully than the merchants have withstood the advance of the chain store.

Chapter VII

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AND EDUCATION

JUDGED by capital investment, budget and numbers of persons employed, education is the most important activity of local government in rural America. The school is the chief agency of education; and by the same standards it is also the most important social institution, rivalled only by the church.

Judged by these same standards also, the school is the one social institution that has shown considerable progress in the communities under investigation during the inter-survey period, 1924–30, measured by yardsticks educators are accustomed to use. The units of service grew larger; consolidation of schools increased, bringing more open-country pupils into village schools; the physical equipment was improved; the budgets were higher, teachers were better qualified; and in most regions the attendance was greater than in 1924. Enrollments also increased but showed less change than the other item.

But education is not wholly of the school, nor are schools concerned exclusively with children. A few do undertake adult education, though in this sphere of education the extension work of state universities and colleges makes the most considerable contribution. Libraries, too, play their part. It is these agencies that will be considered in this chapter, first and chiefly the school, because of its importance.[1]

There were in the 140 villages, 285 public and twenty-one private or parochial schools,[2] excluding those for Negroes.[3] The public schools were divided almost equally between grade and high schools, there being one more of the former. This total represents a net loss of two schools in the intersurvey period, resulting from the erection of new buildings which concentrated under one roof work formerly done in two. Several of the growing villages on the other hand had to increase the number of their buildings.

[1] It should be stressed that this survey considered the school as a *social* institution. No attempt was made to study the educational output of the school in terms of pupil achievement, nor to rate school plants according to the score-card devices employed in technical administrative investigations. Nor were curriculum studies made.

[2] In this report, no attention will be paid to the private or parochial schools. Two are high-grade secondary schools attracting students from a wide range of states. The others are Roman Catholic or Lutheran parochial schools, largely the former. All but six of these are located in the Middle West. In the most part they are small grade schools. The total number declined from thirty-five to twenty-three in the inter-survey period, though the number in the Middle West remained stationary at seventeen.

[3] There were twenty-three Negro grade schools, four Negro high schools and one hundred six Negro open-country schools, all but four of them in the South.

THE TREND TOWARD CONSOLIDATION

The trend toward consolidation was clearly indicated in these communities.[1] The number of village schools with which country-school districts consolidated increased from fifty to sixty-one. In one case this even involved the absorption of one high school by another; but, in the main, school districts with grades only were concerned. Some of the systems operating on the consolidated plan in 1924 have added new school districts. Others had absorbed new schools for the first time.

All told, these villages were taking care of the pupils in 225 more open-country schools than in 1924. The number of open-country schools within the 1924 community areas therefore decreased from 1,549 to 1,320; but because of the increases in areas of some communities, and the organization of a few new grade schools, the total number of open-country schools in the rural hinterlands remained almost stationary, amounting to 1,505, a net loss of 44. There was a net loss in country schools in every region, except the Middle West as is shown in Appendix F. It must be emphasized that the gross loss is more significant of the trend than the net loss, because of the fact that the average open-country area of these villages was larger in 1930 than in 1924. Had the areas been identical, the net loss would have been almost equal to the gross. The number of open-country high schools increased from twenty to twenty-two.[2]

The trend toward consolidation was most noticeable in the South. Only eight of the thirty villages studied in this region had unconsolidated systems, and they were found in most cases where roads had not been improved. In some villages the number of open-country schools had been halved or more in the inter-survey period. The coming of good roads always produced an increase in the number of open-country pupils in village schools, particularly high schools. In some places this change came so suddenly that the village tried to restrict the influx of pupils because the space and facilities of the village school were over taxed, and because the allowed tuition revenue from open-country pupils was insufficient to provide for enlargement of the building. In other places the same handicap prevented further consolidation for which the people were clamoring. In some places these restrictions led to an increase in tuition charges, if they were under the per pupil operating cost. In others the number of pupils to be received by the village was prorated among the open-country schools.

[1] A consolidated school is one that results from a combination of two or more smaller schools for the sake of greater efficiency and to serve all the districts whose schools it has displaced. *Cf.* Rapier, *The Consolidated School*, p. 7, "A consolidated rural school may be defined tentatively as a school produced by bringing together the pupils of two or more single-room or other schools in a graded school of at least two rooms and two teachers for the purpose of better educational advantages. It is of various types and increases in excellence as it adds various features."

[2] See Appendix F for the detailed distribution of the number of schools by regions.

Usually an equitable basis for consolidation was worked out after a few years. Sometimes the change in sentiment from opposition to consolidation to eagerness for it came suddenly, in one case within a year. Occasionally, however, as noted, the rural districts formed a consolidated high-school district and erected an open-country high school independent of the village. This always resulted in a sharp reduction in the number of open-country pupils in the village school, and in some loss in trade as well.

The transition period was sometimes a difficult one for the village when it was not a part of a consolidated district but had a large number of open-country people. In most states the tuition charges are restricted by law to a maximum of per pupil operating costs. No charge can be made for capital expenses and debt service thereon. When, therefore, an influx of country pupils rendered village school facilities inadequate, unless the tax base was a consolidated district, the village was forced to pay the total cost of capital expenses for an enlarged plant while the country districts that shared these improvements contributed in no way to financing them. Conversely, country people had no voice in the management of such a school. This was creating a serious financial situation in some villages studied.

Reasons for School Consolidation.—Good roads are not, of course, the only reason why school consolidation is increasing. Many state boards of education are heartily in favor of it, and use both direct and indirect means of bringing it about. Thus in one of the counties surveyed in a state where consolidation was favored, there were fifty-three school districts at the time of the 1920 survey. In 1931 there were only seventeen, a decline of more than two-thirds. Other counties showed similar results.

Attention should be called to the fact that the areas of consolidated school districts, especially high-school districts, can be too small and also too large. Those that are too small have found themselves with an insufficient tax base and even an insufficient number of pupils. Districts that are too large not only add unduly to transportation costs but, by cutting across the natural boundaries of several communities, have failed to achieve that measure of community interest and support, or to render the service to the community, that is at once one of the great assets and one of the great contributions of the consolidated school.[1]

Among the direct arguments in favor of consolidation advanced by state officials are these: that it makes possible a professionally trained, permanent teaching force; that it enables the school to enrich its curriculum; that it guarantees a large enough number of youth to organize special interest, extra-curricula activities for social and moral control, as well as for recreation for which it furnishes the community with a com-

[1] Approximately 26 percent of the high-school students in California reside more than ten miles from their schools and pay about $41.35 per year each for bus fare to and from the institutions they attend. (Washington; Department of the Interior.)

munity center. A considerable number of authorities also maintain that consolidation lowers the per pupil cost and produces better educational results, though there is some debate on this subject.

Regardless of all negative considerations, the evidence indicates that the tendency is in the direction of centering rural education in villages. This is true whether the schools are consolidated or not. In the consolidated high school, the proportion of pupils from outside the village is 51.4 percent. In the non-consolidated, it is 47.2 percent. In other words, what is in effect consolidation is taking place by social action whether or not—indeed usually before—it has been accomplished by legal enactment.

TABLE 78.—VILLAGES WITH CONSOLIDATED HIGH SCHOOLS, AND PROPORTION OF OPEN-COUNTRY PUPILS IN CONSOLIDATED AND NON-CONSOLIDATED SYSTEMS, BY REGION, 1930,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Number consolidated		Open country pupils in	
	1924	1930	Consolidated percent	Non-consolidated percent
All regions	50	61	51.4	47.2
Middle Atlantic	5	4	73.5	52.1
South	14	22	53.5	50.0
Middle West	15	19	53.1	45.0
Far West	16	16	46.2	42.2

It should be remembered that the term "consolidation," which here includes also union district schools, has different meanings in different states. *Cf.* Court, T., *Rural School Consolidation* (Washington; Office of Education, United States Department of the Interior, June 1930), Pamphlet #6.

The same is also true in the elementary schools, though to a less extent than in the high schools. Though this trend is recognized in some towns and small cities by the erection of dormitories for the country youth, the educational implications are more far reaching than rural school administrators seem as yet to have recognized. But of this more later.

In the ten years from 1917–18 to 1927–28, the total number of consolidated schools reported to the Federal Office of Education increased from 5,349 to 17,004; and the number of one-room schools decreased from 195,397 to 153,006. The Office estimates that by 1938 there will be fewer than 110,000 one-room schools. Between 1923 and 1928, the increase in consolidated schools in the United States was from 13,421 to 17,004, or an increase of 26.7 percent; not much greater than the increase of 22.2 percent in the 140 villages between 1925 and 1930.

THE VILLAGEWARD TREND OF RURAL EDUCATION

The tendency for rural education to centralize more and more in the village, regardless of consolidation, is shown clearly by a comparison of

the proportion of village elementary and high-school enrollment coming from outside the municipality itself in 1924 and 1930. In 1924, 45.6 percent of the village high-school pupils came from the country. The 1930 figure was practically one-half, 49.5 percent, for all schools, whether consolidated or not. In two regions, the proportion exceeded one-half. This is an increase in half a decade of practically four points, or 8.5 percent, in the *proportion* of country pupils in village high schools. If the Far West is eliminated, in which region the proportion of rural enrollment declined slightly, the village high schools of the other three regions show 51 percent of their enrollment from their country hinterlands. This represents an increase over 1924 in these regions of 6.5 points, or 14.8 percent, in the proportion of country pupils in the secondary schools of the 118 villages in the Middle Atlantic, South and Middle-West regions. The decrease in the Far West is due to four causes. Two villages changed their corporation areas so as to include their entire contiguous rural area. In these communities every one is now a villager. Furthermore, in a number of the other Pacific Coast villages, the number of farmers who lived in the trade center increased.

In addition, some of the high schools in the Pacific Coast villages suffered from two types of competition: several smaller, nearby villages or hamlet centers had erected high schools in the inter-survey period or raised the standing of their schools from two-year to four-year high schools in an effort to keep their young people at home, thereby reducing the number of country pupils in the school of the main village.

An opposite tendency was found in several places; namely, for the country youth to attend high school in a large town or small city that had become easily accessible by bus or private car over hard-surfaced roads. Both of these factors were found here and there in the other regions, but not often enough to produce much of an effect on the trend already noted.

There is, therefore, no actual decline in the number of country youth in Far West village and town high schools; and, conversely, the gain for all the villages is in reality larger than the figures show. Obviously, therefore, with half of their enrollment coming from their rural hinterlands, village high schools belong as much to the countryman as to the villager.[1]

The proportion of the village high-school enrollment that comes from the country varies with the population of the village. It is largest in the small villages, 55.5 percent, and smallest in the large villages.[2] This is only natural, for as Chapter IV shows, the ratio of villagers to country people in the community increases with the size of the village.

Open Country Children in Village Elementary Schools Also Increasing.—The increase in the proportion of country children in village

[1] The educational implications of this fact will be discussed later in this chapter.

[2] See Appendix F.

elementary schools is 7 percent, not a large change, but significant in view of the relatively short time since the first survey. Only in the South do the proportions approach those of the high school. Even so, more than one-quarter of the village elementary school enrollment is from the country. Again there have been increases in all the regions except the Far West, where the decline has resulted from the causes already discussed. The details by regions for these two types of schools appear in Table 79.

TABLE 79.—PROPORTION OF COUNTRY PUPILS IN VILLAGE HIGH AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	High school		Elementary school	
	1924 percent	1930 percent	1924 percent	1930 percent
All regions	45.6	49.5	24.0	25.7
Middle Atlantic	41.2	54.8	12.1	14.0
South	41.6	51.3	34.6	44.4
Middle West	45.2	47.6	17.3	18.3
Far West	49.1	46.7	27.1	22.7

Variations according to the size of the village are similar to those found in the case of the high-school enrollment. Well over a third of the enrollment of small-village grade schools is from outside the corporation limits, but only one-fifth of that in the large villages. The ratio in the villages of medium size is almost exactly the average for the total group.[1]

It is quite evident from these figures that the countryman is tending more and more to the village for the necessary educational facilities for his children. Furthermore, this trend is likely to continue for both high and elementary schools, and probably at an accelerated rate. A mail questionnaire sent to the schools of the 140 villages in March 1932 showed that, of the net increase of 1,187 in elementary school enrollment over 1930, 45.4 percent came from the country. Similarly, 72.3 percent of the high-school net increase of 1,278 pupils was from outside the village. All regions shared in this increase. Hence in these communities in 1932, 26.3 percent of the village elementary school and 51.0 percent of the high-school enrollment were from the country. The rate of increase in the proportion of open-country pupils in these village schools for the period 1930–32 was therefore more rapid than between 1924 and 1930.

One change for which the increased patronage of village high schools by farmers' children partly accounted was the increase in the number of villages with a full four-year high-school course, 132 as against 111 in 1924. In 1924 only seven of the thirty Southern villages had the full

[1] See Appendix F.

course. In 1930 only seven lacked it. The only other village with a shorter course was in the Middle Atlantic states where at the time of the earlier study five of the twenty-eight had lacked either one or two years of the four.[1]

One of the interesting facts in regard to the types of schools is the failure of the junior high school to make very much of a gain in the inter-survey period. The net increase in the number of these was only from 10 to 13,[2] the gross gain was eight, five of them in the Middle Atlantic villages. The gain in junior high schools was entirely in the Middle West and Middle Atlantic states. A possible explanation of this lies in the fact that in many villages, especially in the small ones, there are not enough pupils to make a junior high school as at present conducted profitable; and no rural adaptation of the junior high school has been worked out.

MORE NEW SCHOOL BUILDINGS

The most obvious change in the public-school field in these villages was the number of new buildings erected. Sixty-four villages put up sixty-five buildings in the inter-survey period. Twenty-one other villages made additions to existing schools. Three other communities had purchased land preparatory to building, and construction was begun after the survey. Thus eighty-eight, or 63 percent, of these villages made considerable capital expenditures in the inter-survey period.

The great majority of the new buildings were for grade schools or high schools, or for one plant housing both. Virtually all of these embodied the best modern ideas of school architecture, with plenty of classrooms, laboratories, offices, auditoriums, and gymnasiums. Some villages that had adequate buildings for educational purposes erected gymnasiums or combined gymnasiums and auditoriums. These almost always served as community centers as well as for school purposes. Several buildings were also erected for the use of departments of vocational education.

The average cost of these new buildings was in excess of $133,000. Only ten of the sixty-five cost less than $75,000, and as many others were valued at $200,000 to $370,000. The cost of the additions averaged over $16,000. The total capital expenditures for buildings and land exceeded $9,000,000. Several hundreds of thousands of dollars more were spent for new heating and ventilating systems, athletic fields, tennis courts, playgrounds and equipment, new plumbing, and other similar items by twenty-four villages; so that, all told, three-quarters of the 140 villages could "point with pride" to physical improvements in school buildings

[1] It should be remembered, however, that in 19 of the 28 Southern villages with four-year courses, the high school begins with the eighth grade instead of the ninth grade as elsewhere, giving them an eleven-year, instead of a twelve-year, system.

[2] See Appendix F.

or grounds.[1] Since the close of the field work at least ten more villages have built new school buildings or additions ranging in cost from $10,000 to $300,000 and totalling $745,000. Since then, new rural school construction has nearly ceased.

It should perhaps be emphasized that these new buildings did not represent a shift in investment as when an industrial plant moves from one location to another, but for the most part were new construction, erected to secure enlarged facilities. Occasionally an out-moded building was left unused; but in no case up to the time of the survey had any such building been sold.

Reasons for Trend toward New School Construction.—This burst of construction activity in these farmers' towns within such a brief period (1924–30) and during a time of agricultural depression is noteworthy, especially as the facts collected in the earlier study tended to show that virtually nine-tenths of the then existing buildings were rated as fair, good, or excellent. Further, only about half the one-tenth of the villages with buildings so poor as to handicap school work shared in this construction program.

A variety of causes operated to produce this situation. In some places building was forced by increased population or increased enrollment resulting from consolidation or an influx of open-country pupils.

In other places the desire to have the best possible facilities for something as important as education is conceived to be was the motivating force. The rural public is as convinced as the urban that the schools must have the best; and the possession of a fine school building is one of the evidences of educational progress in the minds of many.

Closely akin to this is perhaps the element of civic pride. If Blank town builds a new school, Besburg must follow suit. The villages feel that a new school will help build up the community and thus act as a defense against depression. Farmers in many sections also demand a good high school; and, in these days of good roads and the automobile, will send their children to the town within range that has the best building.

An interesting incident illustrates this: in one small village the retired-farmer element defeated a bond election for a new school. A group of farmers formed a company, put up the money for an addition to the school costing about $10,000, and rented it to the town school board. The eventual result was the consolidation of five districts and the erection of a $110,000 building. A similar procedure was carried through by the business men of a large village, with similar results.

Finally, the pressure of the state board of education was a powerful factor in the acquiring of a new building. When buildings failed to measure

[1] There was no comparable improvement in open-country schools, though some new buildings had been erected and the two new open-country high schools were both good buildings.

up to state standards, the board first advised new construction, then withdrew recognition or demoted the rating of the school, thus affecting among other things the college-entrance status of graduates at state institutions. A final step taken in a few cases was to withdraw state aid entirely from the school district, thereby greatly increasing the tax burden of local residents. Two of the villages, both of them in somewhat below average agricultural areas and both suffering from the depression and the drought, were in serious financial and educational difficulties because of their conflicts with the state board of education, which insisted on the erection of a new building which neither village could safely finance. One of these villages had defeated the enabling bond issue five times in two years. In another, a childless but strong minority was advocating that the high school be dispensed with entirely or the two upper years be cut off.

This growth in the great but indirect power of the state board of education in a number of states, especially as related to rural school districts, is one of the marked trends of the last few years. It was commented on in every region by school administrators and board members. Where such a board lacks an adequate understanding of the peculiar problems of rural school systems it often works real hardships.[1] The 1930–31 part of this burst of school building construction brought into conflict locally two bits of advice both credited to the federal government. On the one hand, there was the appeal to build public buildings because of lowered construction costs, and thus combat the depression. On the other hand, there were the charges that municipalities were chiefly responsible for increased taxes and the warnings to cut down local expenses. By the summer of 1931 the taxpayers apparently decided that the latter was the advice that should be followed; for progress in consolidation had been checked owing to failure to provide new buildings required. Only 182 new consolidated schools were formed in 1930.

School Expenses Tend Upward.—The expense for new buildings raises the interesting question of the total operating expenses of these village-school systems. In the fiscal year prior to the survey, total expenses on this account were slightly under five and a half million dollars.[2]

[1] This influence is exerted chiefly, though not exclusively, in the following ways: Control is exercised over building plans or buildings so as to safeguard fire protection and health, and to bring to bear the experience of the board as to what produces an efficient school building; the state board also sets down the qualifications required before a person can secure a teacher's certificate; it often has helped to raise and standardize salaries; it checks up on finances, suggests curricula and in various ways attempts to put expert service at the disposal of the local community.

[2] The exact figure is $5,457,879. It was obtained by estimating, according to averages by region and size of village, the budgets of the eighteen villages for which definite data were not secured,—owing usually to the absence of the school officials from villages surveyed in the vacation period. The exact expenditures for the 122 villages from which precise figures were secured amounted to $4,816,891. Ten of the villages for which data were lacking on this point were in the South, representing one-third of the villages in this area. All but two of the rest were in the Middle West.

The average budget for a single school system based on the 122 villages from which exact figures were secured was $37,094. To insure comparability, these data on operating expenses exclude all items of capital outlay, debt service or fixed charges not pertaining to the actual operation of the business of education as such.

These averages showed wide fluctuations according to region and size of village. The Far West averaged nearly three times the South, and more than twice the Middle Atlantic. Budgets increased by more than 50 percent as the size of the village went up from small to medium and from medium to large. Within the small, medium and large village groups, regional variations followed the total differences, except that there was greatest similarity among the small villages and least among the large. Total budgets, of course, were affected by the size of the enrollment and by the wealth of the community.[1] The detailed figures are given in Table 80.

In the main, there was as yet little evidence of the depression. As noted later, some schools had cut salaries; a few were in debt because of failure to pay taxes; and in three states aid to all schools was delinquent, in one commonwealth by two and a half years. In a few villages especially hard hit the enrollment of boys in the high school had declined. It was doubtless too soon for the full effect of general conditions to be felt in these places.

That this is so is shown by a mail questionnaire in March 1932, to the school systems of the villages studied, the results of which will be given at various places in this chapter. They show clearly the cumulative effects of the depression in salary decreases, curriculum changes, and the closing of the open-country schools or the shortening of terms. In March, 1931 the Office of Education of the United States Department of the Interior listed, in a press release, a number of unfortunate results "of the economic situation on the schools in rural sections."

State Aid to Schools Increasing.—One of the trends noticeable in the 1930 study is the increased proportion of the school budget coming from sources outside the school district itself. This is largely from state aid. The movement toward spreading the costs of rural education over a wider tax basis seems to be growing.

Two related causes seem to account for this trend. In the first place, the farmers' and villagers' conception of education is changing. Communities are no longer content with the Three R's. They are insisting on vocational subjects, on more cultural courses, and on college preparatory work. In addition, as compared with a decade or two ago, enrollments, especially in the high schools, have greatly increased. All this has meant increased expense; and, in addition, salaries and the cost of school supplies and textbooks have mounted with the increase in the cost and standard of living. Of late years, rural communities have found themselves unable to

[1] For the effect of wealth see Appendix E.

TABLE 80.—AVERAGE EXPENDITURES OF VILLAGE SCHOOLS, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	1924			1930		
	No. reporting	Mean	Median	No. reporting	Mean	Median
	All villages					
All regions	87	$32,275	$28,285	122	$37,094	$ 30,949
Middle Atlantic	6	20,655	19,889	26	30,053	25,545
South	15	16,929	15,314	20	24,254	21,900
Middle West	45	30,536	29,613	54	33,627	32,716
Far West	21	50,413	42,323	22	65,553	54,163
	Small villages					
All regions	25	18,957	19,500	40	22,830	22,215
Middle Atlantic	2	11,251	11,251	13	21,272	18,031
South	5	13,131	12,794	7	16,806	15,994
Middle West	13	19,808	22,500	15	23,878	22,638
Far West	5	25,654	24,309	5	32,165	31,989
	Medium villages					
All regions	37	31,659	30,103	54	36,357	32,933
Middle Atlantic	2	27,045	27,045	10	38,752	37,847
South	4	16,190	14,088	7	22,251	20,800
Middle West	24	31,296	30,149	29	34,136	33,051
Far West	7	43,061	38,615	8	53,756	48,214
	Large villages					
All regions	25	46,505	43,203	28	53,894	49,016
Middle Atlantic	2	23,670	23,670	3	39,102	44,432
South	6	20,587	16,100	6	35,281	27,986
Middle West	8	45,349	44,893	10	46,773	46,229
Far West	9	69,886	69,645	9	94,701	102,195

afford the educational improvements they have desired and, indeed, improvements which state boards of education and higher institutions of learning were requiring.

This situation has been aggravated, and may have been caused, by the agricultural depression that began in 1920. It is also involved with the whole complicated problem of taxation in rural communities. In this situation, therefore, farmers and villagers have agreed not only that in a democracy educational opportunity should be equalized as between city and country, but that the cost of such equalization should be distributed in proportion to the wealth of the whole commonwealth, and not borne by the smallest municipal unit, such as a township or village.

Efforts toward equalization of school expenditures have, therefore, been made in a number of the states, sometimes under the added motive of affording some measure of tax relief to rural communities.

Methods of Extending State Aid.—This aid is extended in many ways. In a few states it is on a straight per pupil basis. In others, the appropriation is made on the basis of attendance. Another plan distributes state aid on the basis of ratables, a scheme that favors urban manufacturing and resort districts.[1] Another procedure is for the state to supply the difference between what the local school district can raise and a certain minimum figure. Another system very frequently employed is to grant financial subsidies for particular projects. Every state now offers some subsidy. More than sixty projects are aided. Half or more of the states assist the local schools in paying the salaries of high-school teachers, in teaching agriculture and home economics and in training teachers, in financing consolidated schools, and in equalizing educational opportunity to a greater or less extent. It will be seen at a glance that most of these projects are designed to assist schools in the smaller communities rather than in the cities.

In from a fourth to a half of the states, aid is also extended to school libraries, to rural and evening schools, to weak districts that need new buildings, to districts lacking high schools in paying high school tuition elsewhere, for Americanization work, for special training for defectives, for teaching manual training, and in paying the salaries of supervisors or superintendents. Nearly half of these projects benefit especially the school systems of small communities.

This procedure seems to be favored by legislators. There appears to exist a decided trend toward subventions of this sort made to encourage or sustain activities deemed desirable on the part of the public schools. This is especially so when the teaching of the subjects has been made mandatory by the legislature.

The amount of aid given, and the proportion it is of the total budget, varies sharply among the states, as is shown in Table 81, which presents the proportions by states for the systems of all states having five or more villages in the study, and for regions.

Another source of revenue, at least for the non-consolidated school districts, is the tuition paid by pupils coming from outside the municipality. Fifty-nine of the 122 villages from which itemized financial statements were secured collected such tuitions, amounting all told to more than a quarter of a million dollars. This revenue, however, equalled less than one-quarter of the cost of instruction alone in these villages, and less than one-fifth of the total budget. Even allowing for state aid, it will be seen that receipts from this source in no way equalled the proportion of

[1] In one state the per-pupil aid in a representative resort township is three times, and in a manufacturing district sixteen times, that extended in an above-average rural township.

TABLE 81.—STATE AID TO SCHOOLS IN STATES HAVING FIVE OR MORE VILLAGES IN THE STUDY, 1930,—140 VILLAGES

	Number villages reporting	Total budget	State aid	
			Amount	Percent
Grand total	87	$3,463,123	$790,790	22.8
Middle Atlantic	27	829,846	401,671	48.4
New York	13	527,547	292,943	55.5
Pennsylvania	14	302,299	108,728	36.0
South	6	369,695	89,586	24.2
North Carolina	6	238,255	23,173	9.7
Texas	3	131,440	66,413	50.5
Middle West	42	1,471,273	141,583	9.6
Illinois	6	196,436	8,856	4.5
Indiana	5	213,702	5,813	2.7
Iowa	11	399,576	11,261	2.8
Kansas	4	102,191	902	0.8
Minnesota	3	143,328	54,344	37.9
Missouri	5	89,414	24,806	27.7
Nebraska	2	54,597	2,878	5.3
Wisconsin	6	272,029	32,723	12.0
Far West—California	9	792,309	157,950	19.9

pupils from the country enrolled in the village schools. Thus, for the non-consolidated schools, the increase in enrollment from the country was often a liability rather than an asset. Table 82 summarizes the situation.

TABLE 82.—RECEIPTS FROM OUTSIDE TUITION AND RATIO TO SALARIES OF TEACHERS, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE, 1930,—140 VILLAGES

Region and size of village	Number villages having tuition	Teachers' salaries	Outside tuition receipts	Ratio tuition to salaries percent
All regions	59	$1,179,170	$276,970	23.5
Middle Atlantic	22	434,876	84,794	19.5
South	2	31,306	5,568	17.8
Middle West	32	625,686	161,657	25.8
Far West	3	87,302	24,951	28.6
Small villages	25	378,206	67,555	17.9
Medium villages	26	567,143	146,128	25.8
Large villages	8	233,821	63,287	27.1

Teaching Costs per Pupil Decline: Enrollments Increase.—The chief item in the school costs is teachers' salaries, with which tuition costs have just been compared. This represented 66.2 percent of the total budget in 1930, as against 70.1 percent in 1924. It is apparent, therefore, that teaching costs did not play a disproportionate share in the increased budgets noted.

It is customary in educational circles to rate school systems, on the basis of, among other things, the per pupil cost. Such a comparison is difficult in a study of this kind, because of the differences of accounting among states as to what items are included in the calculation. As a substitute, therefore, per pupil teaching cost was used. In all regions, except the South, the ratios of teaching costs to total operating expenses were close to the figures just given. In the South, teaching costs were 72.9 percent of the total costs as Appendix F shows.

Table 83 shows that costs of instruction per pupil have been declining in the high schools of all regions except the Middle Atlantic. In the village grade schools and in the open-country schools, on the other hand, the trend has been in the main upward. The factor of enrollment enters in here. A school, with an influx of new pupils, that does not increase its faculty, lowers its per pupil teaching cost. Similarly, a school with a lower enrollment shows a higher cost. This factor applies especially in the open-country figures for the Far West, and to a less extent those for the Middle West.[1] The facts as to per pupil teaching cost and average enrollment are given in Tables 83 and 84. Per capita retail sales, as Appendix F shows, were positively correlated with per pupil teaching costs. In general, the higher the per capita sales the higher was the per pupil teaching cost.

TABLE 83.—TEACHING COST PER PUPIL IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Village high schools		Village grade schools		Country grade schools	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	$ 90.17	$81.96	$30.03	$33.22	$33.63	$39.23
Middle Atlantic	78.15	82.72	26.95	43.22	33.69	41.43
South	64.53	60.24	18.22	19.30	17.91	24.53
Middle West	93.69	83.29	31.15	36.41	34.75	40.35
Far West	112.98	98.37	40.82	38.91	42.26	52.12

For pupil-cost, by size of village, see Appendix F.

Average Salaries Slightly Lower.—The average salary per teacher for the villages follows the same tendency as the per pupil cost. It is higher in the Middle Atlantic states, which supplant the Middle West region in paying the second-highest average. In the two western regions, there have been slight declines; in the southern, a rather sharp one. In the open-country schools, only the Far West shows a decline.

This decline has at least two causes. In seven places there were salary cuts due to the depression. Five of these places were in the wheat belt.

[1] Kansas, for instance, in 1929–1930 had 360 schools with five pupils or fewer and six with none—all pupils having moved from the district after the teachers' contracts were signed but before the term commenced. This is one result of enlarging farms in the wheat belt. See chapter ii.

TABLE 84.—AVERAGE ENROLLMENT IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Per village high school		Per village grade school		Per country grade school	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	All villages					
All regions	129	151	277	304	28	27
Middle Atlantic	99	138	213	218	25	25
South	110	150	300	379	52	50
Middle West	164	177	310	302	23	22
Far West	173	220	378	456	27	32
	Small villages					
All regions	85	105	183	195	27	26
Middle Atlantic	76	100	137	153	24	25
South	66	102	234	277	58	77
Middle West	93	100	185	174	20	18
Far West	119	140	206	227	43	58
	Medium villages					
All regions	131	161	271	276	28	27
Middle Atlantic	120	184	260	251	29	29
South	136	170	302	342	45	57
Middle West	133	146	256	252	26	24
Far West	129	177	302	312	20	25
	Large villages					
All regions	186	224	412	498	30	28
Middle Atlantic	124	154	360	362	19	18
South	128	179	365	519*	55	43
Middle West	213	225	373	364	22	21
Far West	242	304	542	714	45	38

* Due to one village that doubled population. Without this village the average would be 438.

In the main, however, the reduction resulted from the large supply of available teachers, which was frequently alluded to by administrators.[1] In forty villages, the salaries had been raised, including three-sevenths of the Middle Atlantic villages; one third of those in the Far West; one-fourth of those in the Middle West; and one-fifth of those in the South.

Since the conclusion of the field survey in October, 1930, the trend has been the other way. Information gathered by mail in March, 1932 showed

[1] In a few Middle West villages with consolidated schools, teachers were augmenting their incomes by driving school buses. The plan was said to work very well.

that two villages in five had reduced salaries from 5 to 20 percent, the median reduction being 10 percent. The Middle Atlantic states largely escaped this movement, indeed one-fourth of the villages in this region had raised salaries. Reduction however had occurred in half the communities of the South and Middle West.

In a verbal statement on February 10, 1932, Dr. Katherine Cook, specialist in rural education of the United States Office of Education, stated that thousands of rural teachers were working without salaries and that rural school terms were being shortened. The situation was especially bad in Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi.[1]

On October 26, 1932, Mr. W. H. Gaumnitz, senior specialist in rural education problems of the Federal Office of Education, who has been conducting a survey of conditions among the rural schools pointed out that generally speaking the reports from the schools thus far received indicate a tendency to cut annual expenditures severely, a tendency to reduce teachers' salaries, to limit term lengths and to increase both the size and the number of the classes taught by each teacher.

Although the findings in general are somewhat discouraging, there are instances in which they are encouraging, Mr. Gaumnitz said. One of the encouraging features is that the school authorities are finding ways in many cases to continue their regular programs with considerably less money, he explained. Some of them are finding interesting and unique ways of retaining, and, in a very few cases, improving their usual activities even with the reduced budgets.

Some of the counties, however, he stated, report that they have had to cut their usual term length considerably and in some cases the school authorities say that there is a danger of closing the schools entirely.[2]

In villages of different size, the salary increases with the population, though the fluctuations are not great. See Table 85 and Appendix F.

TABLE 85.—AVERAGE SALARY OF TEACHERS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Village salaries		Country salaries*	
	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	†	$1,373	†	$ 872
Middle Atlantic	$1,244	1,454	$870	925
South	1,153	1,071	689	694
Middle West	1,365	1,342	700	632
Far West	1,670	1,633	1,157	1,090

* If the 22 open-country high schools are excluded the average salaries drop about $25 in each category.
† Not calculated in 1924.

[1] *The United States Daily*, Washington, February 11, 1932.
[2] *The United States Daily*, Washington, October 27, 1932.

The decline in average salary was not paralleled by a drop in the number of teachers. Indeed, there were one and one-half more teachers per village than at the earlier survey, additions ranging from one to seven. More men were employed also in 1930 than in 1924.

Teachers Better Trained.—Despite the decline in salaries, there has been an advance in the professional qualifications of the teachers of these schools in the inter-survey period; a trend that will probably continue further. This was found in most of the villages; but in forty of them the local boards of education had definitely committed themselves to higher standards. In only fifteen of these places had the salary scale also been definitely raised. It was constantly emphasized that the better-trained teachers were being secured because of the oversupply.

Whatever the cause, the improvement in this particular was one of the most marked trends in the entire educational phase of the study. The proportion of village school-teachers with less than a normal-school training dropped from one-fifth to one-thirteenth of the total number. The proportion of college graduates rose from two-fifths to well over a half. Normal-school graduates comprised about two-fifths of the group at both survey periods. This trend was marked in every region and in every size-group, as Table 86 shows.[1]

There are three reasons, among others, for this considerable improvement in the professional qualifications of village school-teachers.

The first lies in the competitive situation. The post-war shortage of teachers, which attracted thousands to the profession, has given way to an oversupply in many states. Boards of education can, therefore, more and more select the better-qualified from among their applicants. In addition, as discovered in the 1924 survey[2] and other studies, there is a direct positive correlation between amount of salary received and the amount of training received.

In the second place, state boards of education have been using all their influence to raise the requirements for entry into the teaching profession. This has been a very potent factor in the situation; and among other things is the spur that sends thousands of teachers to summer schools each year in their pursuit of the next degree or the next higher certificate.

In the third place, local public opinion and local boards of education responsible to it, have demanded that local children have the best ob-

[1] The 1930 survey did not, unfortunately, cover the qualifications of the open-country teachers. In 1924, 76.9 percent of the open-country teachers in these communities had less than full normal-school training. The improvement noted in the village has spread to the open-country, but by no means in the same degree. The one-room open-country school is the last resort of the poorly trained teacher, although even here in some states she is being gradually eliminated.

[2] *Cf.* Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927), pp. 144–147.

TABLE 86.—TRAINING BEYOND HIGH SCHOOL OF TEACHERS IN VILLAGE SCHOOLS, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	1924				1930			
	No. of teachers	Less than normal (2 yr.)	Normal (2–4 yr.)	College (4 yr. & over)	No. of teachers	Less than normal (2 yr.)	Normal (2–4 yr.)	College (4 yr. & over)
	All villages							
All regions	2,054	19.3	39.4	41.3	2,228	7.3	38.1	54.6
Middle Atlantic	311	24.1	46.6	29.3	407	10.6	38.8	50.6
South	390	22.1	33.3	44.6	435	6.9	36.3	56.8
Middle West	904	21.7	37.5	40.8	902	7.4	41.3	51.3
Far West	449	8.7	43.7	47.6	484	4.5	33.3	62.2
	Small villages							
All regions	518	23.9	34.9	41.2	540	8.5	40.7	50.8
Middle Atlantic	105	29.5	36.2	34.3	149	10.1	38.2	51.7
South	112	26.8	33.9	39.3	108	7.4	38.0	54.6
Middle West	206	27.2	29.6	43.2	214	8.4	42.5	49.1
Far West	95	7.4	46.3	46.3	69	7.3	44.9	47.8
	Medium villages							
All regions	971	21.0	41.7	37.3	915	8.1	38.4	53.5
Middle Atlantic	157	17.8	56.1	26.1	173	8.7	39.3	52.0
South	185	25.9	33.0	41.1	152	10.5	29.6	59.9
Middle West	453	24.3	38.4	37.3	442	6.1	40.9	53.0
Far West	176	10.2	46.6	43.2	148	10.8	38.5	50.7
	Large villages							
All regions	565	12.0	39.7	48.3	773	5.4	36.1	58.5
Middle Atlantic	49	32.6	38.8	28.6	85	15.3	38.9	45.8
South	93	8.6	33.3	58.1	175	3.4	41.2	55.4
Middle West	245	12.2	42.5	45.3	246	8.9	41.1	50.0
Far West	178	7.9	39.3	52.8	267	0.4	27.3	72.3

tainable in the matter of teaching skill. Whatever motives of civic pride, or economic advantage for the village, enter into this demand and the desire for ever better school buildings, the main motive in all progressive steps is the faith of the local people in education and the desire for maximum advantages for their children, the pupils.

Ages of Teachers Higher.—The better training of the teachers in service was reflected in part in their increased ages. The median age increased from 27 to 28 years between 1920 and 1930. This increase was shared in by all regions. The chief reason for this change was the decline in teachers under 21 years of age, the proportion of which dropped from

11.7 to 6.1 percent of the total number. There was an increase in the group from 21 to 45 years of age, which contained more than four-fifths of all teachers, and a considerable increase in those between 45 and 65 years of age, as Table 87 shows.

TABLE 87.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS, BY REGION,—177 VILLAGES

Region	Under 21		21–44		45–64		65 and over	
	1920 percent	1930 percent	1920 percent	1930 percent	1920 percent	1930 percent	1920 percent	1930 percent
All villages	11.7	6.1	79.2	81.4	8.3	11.7	0.8	0.8
Middle Atlantic	9.5	4.1	79.0	80.0	10.6	15.6	0.9	0.3
South	13.0	7.8	79.5	81.3	6.8	10.2	0.7	0.7
Middle West	14.6	6.9	77.6	81.4	6.9	10.9	0.9	0.8
Far West	5.1	3.0	82.6	83.4	11.5	12.4	0.8	1.2

These percentages are based on 3,386 teachers in 1920 and 4,467 in 1930. The difference is not entirely the result of an increase in the number of teachers, which, in fact, accounts for only one-quarter of it, but is to be explained by the change in the date of taking the census. This was April 1 in 1930, but January 1 in 1920. The latter date falls in the Christmas holidays and many teachers were then probably away from the villages. More teachers of open-country schools are also living in villages than formerly and commuting to their schools.

Turnover of Teachers.—One problem that the rural school has not solved is the rapid turnover of their teaching personnel. The United States Office of Education estimated in December 1931 that each year it was necessary to replace two of every five teachers employed in one-room and two-room schools, and three of every eleven employed in village schools.

In towns of from 2,500 to 10,000 population on the other hand, the ratio is only one in six; and in cities of from 10,000 to 100,000 population, one in ten. The large cities need to replace only one in twenty of their faculties, or 5 percent, each year. Acceptance of another teaching position accounts for two-fifths of the changes. Marriage is a close second in creating vacancies. In other words, the rural school-teacher, like the rural minister, moves often; and like him also uses the rural or village position as a stepping stone to an urban one. Judging by the 140 villages, there has been but little improvement in this situation since 1924, though since 1930, for obvious reasons, turnover has declined.

More Pupils per Teacher.—The last decade or more has seen a steady increase in the number of high-school teachers. The urban increase has been 22.7 percent, the rural 27.8 percent, between 1918 and 1928, according to the *Biennial Survey of Education*. The trend toward consolidation

explains the small rural increase and accounts for the steady increase in the number of pupils per teacher in rural high schools, while in the non-rural schools the tendency was in the opposite direction, as Table 88 shows.

TABLE 88.—PUPILS PER TEACHER IN PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES

Year	Pupils per teacher	
	Rural and village schools	Non-rural schools
1917–1918	14.2	29.2
1919–1920	16.6	20.4
1921–1922	17.2	25.1
1923–1924	17.6	25.2
1925–1926	18.5	26.1
1927–1928	18.8	26.0

Source: *Biennial Survey of Education* (U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C., 1928).

Correspondence with the 140 villages indicates that the depression has also increased the ratio of pupils to teachers since the last published biennial survey. Consolidation, therefore, in some areas is causing technological unemployment among teachers, and this is one of the reasons for the better-trained teachers found in the rural schools.

PUPILS

There are about 100,000 pupils in these communities, approximately three-fifths of whom are in village schools, the same proportion as in 1924. Of these about one-fourth are in high schools, this proportion holding for both the village and the open country, excluding the Negroes. In the villages, 34.2 percent of the enrollment is in the high schools, as against 31.7 percent in 1924. As has already been noted, more than half the village high-school and more than a fourth of the village grade-school pupils come from the open-country.

Attendance Improved.—The trend is for the pupils in these village schools, except in the Far West, to get more time in school through better attendance than was the case in 1924, both in high schools and grade schools. The progress in this respect was considerable, especially in the high schools. The Middle West improved its already good record and the South and Middle Atlantic regions registered substantial gains. The same tendencies obtained in the grade schools, except that the South showed less marked improvement. In the case of the open-country schools also, there were substantial gains in every region except the Far West, as Table 89 shows.

The improved attendance record in three of the four regions probably reflects in part the better work of the better-qualified teachers; in part

TABLE 89.—RATIO OF ATTENDANCE AND ENROLLMENT IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	All villages		Small villages		Medium villages		Large villages	
	1924 percent	1930 percent	1924 percent	1930 percent	1924 percent	1930 percent	1924 percent	1930 percent
	Village high schools							
All regions	89.5	91.0	89.3	90.7	89.4	92.2	89.7	89.8
Middle Atlantic	89.5	94.6	89.9	95.0	89.9	94.3	86.6	94.4
South*	87.5	90.4	83.7	88.1	85.7	90.3	91.0	92.0
Middle West	90.3	92.7	90.6	93.1	90.1	92.9	90.3	92.4
Far West	89.6	86.1	90.6	84.3	90.5	90.1	88.8	84.4
	Village grade schools							
All regions	86.9	87.4	87.5	90.3	85.2	89.6	87.6	85.1
Middle Atlantic	89.2	94.1	90.2	95.7	88.5	93.6	88.9	93.0
South*	84.1	86.0	83.9	87.1	82.1	86.1	85.9	85.1
Middle West	85.2	90.9	86.7	92.1	83.7	91.5	86.3	89.0
Far West	91.8	82.6	93.3	84.6	90.2	86.0	92.3	81.0
	Country grade schools							
All regions	76.4	79.1						
Middle Atlantic	80.0	82.3						
South*	70.9	72.9						
Middle West	75.8	80.7						
Far West	83.5	79.5						

1924 figures vary slightly from those published in *American Agricultural Villages*, because at that time the figures were weighted by the number of school days.

* Excludes Negro Schools.

the improved transportation facilities such as better buses, better roads and the plowing of main hard-surfaced roads in winter; and in part the better health of pupils resulting from the improvement in health measures in the schools. Stricter enforcement of attendance laws and child-labor legislation, especially in the South, may have played their part, though they were seldom mentioned. In the open country, there is probably less child labor on the farms, at least of the sort that interferes with school attendance.

These conclusions are borne out by the 1930 Census. The proportion of population seven to thirteen years of age that attended school during the year preceding the Census rose for rural America, from 87.6 in 1920 to 93.3 percent in 1930. For the children fourteen and fifteen years old, the increase was from 79.4 to 85 percent.[1] In the villages, the proportion rose

[1] Urban America also bettered its 1920 records. Ninety-seven and three-tenths percent of the children seven to thirteen years old were in school during 1930, as compared with 94.4 percent in 1920. For those fourteen and fifteen years old, the increase was from 80.7 to

from 93.0 to 96.0 percent. For the children fourteen and fifteen years old, the figures for the villages rose from 89.1 to 91.6 percent. The females made a slightly better record than the males in this respect for both these age-groups. For both of them, the village record is about one point under the urban record, probably for the reasons given in the footnote above. There were, of course, regional variations in the trends. The South, despite much improvement, especially in the seven-to-thirteen-year-old-group, has not yet overhauled the other regions, partly on account of the Negro. The details are given in Appendix F.

Retardation and achievement data were not secured from these schools; but it is very probable that, in view of the better attendance and the great gain in the professional qualifications of the teachers in all regions except the Far West, such data would show a trend toward higher-achievement levels and less retardation than was the case some years ago. All of this represents an indirect, if not a direct, economic gain for these communities.

More Pupils Completing Full High-school Course.—It is also of interest that school principals reported much more of a tendency for grammar-school pupils to enter high school and for high-school pupils to finish the course. This again is part of a national trend. The proportion of those sixteen and seventeen years of age in school rose from 46.1 percent in 1920 to 53.9 percent in 1930 for all of rural America. In the villages the decade's gain was from 66.3 to 71.7 percent. For this age-group, the villages show a superiority of more than ten points over the city, which in the last decade, for the first time, exceeded the rural record for these ages. These national averages conceal the great flood of rural youth into high schools. In Illinois the number of pupils sixteen and seventeen years old of both sexes in rural areas decreased from 80,459 to 77,874 between 1920 and 1930; yet the rural school attendance for these ages increased from 34,911 to 42,211. In Iowa, where the population in this age-group was practically stationary, attendance at school increased one-fifth to 60.4 percent. Similar figures were determined for every state, with some increases in the proportion attending exceeding 40 percent. As Chapter V shows, there seems to be a clear relation between the proportion of children in schools and the proximity of the county of residence to a large city.

Fluctuations in the population of the community were quickly reflected in the school enrollment. Nineteen of the villages lost 10 percent in population between 1920 and 1930. Grade-school enrollment in these villages dropped 10.5 percent. High-school enrollment, on the other hand, increased by one-sixth. This is to be accounted for by a gain of 17 percent

92.7 percent. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the trend toward raising the years of compulsory school attendance. Two highly urban states, New York and Ohio, now require attendance up to eighteen years of age. Cities also can enforce the school attendance law very much better than the country.

in the number of open-country pupils attending the high schools of these villages. On the other hand, villages, that grew more rapidly than the national rate of population increase, added to their grade-school enrollment by 26.2 percent and to that of their high schools by 36.7 percent. Even here the increase in the open-country enrollment was at a slightly higher rate than that in the village proper.

Similarly, farm tenancy seemed to influence school enrollment. In the 43 village communities in which the proportion of tenant-operated farms had increased between 1924 and 1930, the number of country children in village grade schools increased 40 percent, and in high schools 32 percent. In the twenty-six communities where tenancy decreased, the respective proportions were 70 percent and almost 100 percent. Apparently the farm-owning community is more eager than the tenant community to take advantage of the superior facilities of village schools.

THE TREND TOWARD HIGHER EDUCATION

Not only do these schools show greater efficiency, but there is a clear tendency for a larger proportion of their graduates to continue their education. Of the class of 1929, 1,502 went to other institutions of one sort or another, as against 1,102 in 1924. Nearly half of these, 692 as against 570, went to college, and another one-fifth selected normal schools. However, the proportion going on to college, and especially to teacher-training institutions, declined, while the proportion selecting purely vocational work such as is represented in business, nurses' training, and other trade schools, increased.

While all regions except the Far West showed increases in the number of graduates continuing their education, the Middle Atlantic villages led all others with an increase of nearly 200 percent, as against between 30 and 40 percent for the South and Middle West.

Among the villages of various size-groups, 56.7 percent of the graduates of high schools of large villages went on to college. The proportions for the small and medium-sized places were 44.6 and 40.2 respectively.

It is interesting that the proportion going to agricultural colleges increased from 6.9 to 9.2 percent. This increase was shared in by all regions except the South. Most of these facts are detailed in Table 90.

The trend in the 140 village communities was in harmony with national tendencies. The Biennial Survey of Education by the United States Office of Education reports the number of high-school graduates continuing their education by attendance either at a college or at some other institution. Data are available for 1917 and the biennium beginning with 1921. Table 91 presents the percent of high school graduates, rural and village as well as total, making the above choices.

Comparison of the percent of rural and of village high-school graduates and of all graduates continuing their education indicates a consist-

TABLE 90.—HIGH-SCHOOL GRADUATES CONTINUING EDUCATION, ACCORDING TO TYPE OF INSTITUTION, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Number of graduates reporting		Percent continuing education in									
			Agricultural colleges		Other colleges		Normal schools		Business schools		Other institutions	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	1,102	1,502	6.9	9.2	44.7	36.9	28.0	21.8	11.4	12.4	9.0	19.7
Middle Atlantic	122	347	1.6	3.7	39.3	24.5	32.8	20.8	10.7	14.1	15.6	36.9
South	225	301	14.2	10.3	53.3	52.5	14.7	23.6	12.0	9.6	5.8	4.0
Middle West	473	645	4.0	8.4	42.9	37.2	30.9	29.9	10.4	12.7	11.8	20.8
Far West	282	209	8.5	19.2	43.3	34.0	31.9	23.4	12.8	12.9	3.5	10.5

TABLE 91.—GRADUATES OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES CONTINUING EDUCATION

Year	All public high schools				Country and village high schools			
	Number graduates	Percent continuing education			Number graduates	Percent continuing education		
		Total	In college	In other institutions		Total	In college	In other institutions
1917	208,588	41.9	28.0	13.9	92,876	43.5	27.3	16.2
1921	243,648	45.7	31.4	14.3	85,286	46.8	28.7	18.1
1923	321,007	44.6	30.8	13.8	111,904	45.4	27.9	17.5
1925	396,003	45.7	32.0	13.7	136,145	46.9	29.9	17.0
1927	424,437	42.9	30.6	12.3	140,468	44.9	29.1	15.8

Source: *Biennial Survey of Education* (U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C., 1928).

ent difference in favor of the rural graduates. The difference between rural and urban is of course greater, because the rural figures are included in the grand total. From these figures it is also clear that while the number of graduates from rural schools has been increasing, the phenomenal increase in the city results in the rural schools furnishing a smaller proportion of the total number of high-school graduates: 34.3 percent in 1928 as against 44.5 percent in 1920. The number of rural high-school graduates increased from 104,000 in 1920 to 163,000 in 1928, an increase of about 57 per cent. In the same time, however, the non-rural graduates increased almost 140 percent from 126,000 to 312,000.

Another indication of increased college attendance from rural areas is to be found in the 1930 school-attendance figures. In the entire United States in 1920, 15.6 percent of those in the rural population between eighteen and twenty years of age were reported as attending school. In 1930 the comparable proportion was 20.0 percent. In the villages it was 33.2 percent. While some of those included were doubtless in high

school, these years are primarily years of college attendance. The proportion of rural-school attendants twenty-one years of age and over also increased 135 percent.

Length of Term Unchanged.—This record is quite good, especially when it is considered that the rural-school term is three school weeks shorter than the urban as reported by the Biennial Survey of Education, 169 days for the rural as against 184 for the urban. More than three-fifths of the urban or non-rural pupils have a school year in excess of 180 days. Only one-seventh of the rural pupils exceed this period. Three-fourths of the rural have from 161 to 180 days, as against more than one-third of the urban. One-tenth of the rural, but only one-fiftieth of the urban, have a year of 160 days or less. The shorter rural term indicates that the high-school student is under the disadvantage of taking a given course in less time than the city pupil though, as shown, rural classes have fewer pupils per teacher. There has been almost no change in length of term in the last decade in either rural or urban schools so far as averages go.

Illiteracy Decreases.—Coincident with the increase in school attendance has come a decline in illiteracy in every region as shown by the 1930 census. Especially notable in this respect is the great decrease in illiteracy among the foreign-born white population in all regions. In the Middle Atlantic states and the Middle West the proportion of the population ten years of age and over classed as illiterate is less than 1 percent. No region had reached this place in 1920. In the Far West, in 1930, 1.4 percent of the population was illiterate; but in the South, the figure was 7.6 percent. This, of course, is due to the Negro, which race recorded a meagre improvement of 2.1 points from the 1920 figure of 24.9 percent. Even among native whites the illiteracy record of the South was nearly three times as bad as the next nearest region. In fact, in the western part of the South, Negro illiteracy actually increased. These village trends follow closely the national decline in illiteracy. Table 95 gives the detailed village figures by regions.

TABLE 92.—PROPORTION ILLITERATE IN THE POPULATION TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, NATIVITY, AND COLOR,—177 VILLAGES

Region	All classes		Male		Female		Native white		Foreign-born white		Negroes and other colored	
	1920 per-cent	1930 per-cent	1920 per-cent	1930 per-cent	1920 per-cent	1930 per-cent	1920 per-cent	1930 per-cent	1920 per-cent	1930 per-cent	1920 per-cent	1930 per-cent
Middle Atlantic....	1.1	0.7	1.4	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.4	10.3	7.8	9.4	3.8
South.....	8.9	7.6	8.7	7.4	9.2	7.7	2.2	1.7	38.3	6.2	24.9	22.8
Middle West.....	1.4	0.9	1.4	1.0	1.4	0.8	0.8	0.6	4.3	3.2	12.6	10.7
Far West.....	1.9	1.4	2.1	1.3	1.7	1.5	0.4	0.3	10.5	4.0	14.9	17.3

CURRICULUM CHANGES

The increase in the number of graduates of village high schools who go to college is another of the reasons why the curriculum of these schools takes on considerable significance. No curriculum studies were made, but changes in existing curricula were noted.

Two hundred changes in curricula were reported by the 140 village school superintendents. Of these, 164 represented courses or departments added; and thirty-six, courses discontinued.[1] The greatest number of changes occurred in the introduction of vocational subjects. One-third of the villages added commercial departments or courses. Twenty-three introduced domestic science, as against seven dropping it, bringing the total to 106 against 90 in 1924. Agriculture was added by seventeen schools and dropped by sixteen. The total number of village schools offering this subject was eighty-seven. Some of the additions were reinstatements. Manual training was introduced by eight schools and dropped by three.

Thus, exactly half of the new courses or departments and more than two-thirds of those dropped were of the vocational or "practical" type. The high turnover in domestic science, and especially in agriculture, emphasizes the fact that, despite Federal coöperation under the Smith-Hughes law, these subjects have not completely won their way. In some places there was dissatisfaction with the working of the law, and a few villages were offering agriculture independently. These subjects are more expensive than others and the taxpayer's attitude toward the teaching of agriculture is likely to vary according to the price of the leading agricultural products of his community. A few supervisors stated that the attitude of the farm press on this subject was influential.

The increase in commercial departments in the schools of these 140 villages, drawing as they do so large a proportion of their pupils from the farm, is most interesting. It is a new trend. In the earlier studies by the Institute of Social and Religious Research so few commercial departments were found that no question on the point was included in the schedule for the 1924 survey. Yet between fifty and sixty village high schools were found with such departments, and in a dozen cases they had been added the year of the survey.

In some of these communities they displaced agriculture. In 1930 ninety-four village high schools were found to have commercial work, seven more than taught agriculture. They were found in all the Far West villages; in four-fifths of those of the Middle West; in half of those in the South; but, curiously enough, in less than two-fifths of the Middle At-

[1] It is possible that the number of changes was actually higher. Superintendents who had not been long in a village might be uninformed as to changes that had taken place before their arrival.

lantic villages. In this last region a higher proportion of high-school graduates were going to business school. Even the smaller villages, to the number of nearly half, had instituted commercial departments; which were found also in three-fourths of the medium and more than four-fifths of the larger villages. It will be interesting to see whether the industrial depression of 1930–33 results in a decline in the number of village schools offering commercial subjects.

In this connection it is significant that the Federal Board of Vocational Education has criticized severely these commercial courses on the ground that they are aimed exclusively to fit pupils for "large city business" and contain nothing "appropriate to farm life." It states:

> The youth on farms should study those commercial subjects which will be of the greatest value to them either in managing farms, homes, or country stores, or as employes in offices and stores.

By way of explanation, the report states further that the bookkeeping taught in these schools should be farm bookkeeping; the commercial arithmetic, farm arithmetic; the commercial geography, the geography of agricultural production; and the commercial law, civil law for the farm business manager.[1]

In the other phases of the curriculum the greatest increase took place in music, which was added by sixteen schools, so that now all but about ten of the villages offer some work in this subject. Social science subjects made the next largest gain with thirteen. Most of these were courses in civics or sociology; but one school introduced a course in international relations. Practically all these school systems now offer, somewhere in the grammar or high-school grades, at least one course in social science.

Offerings in science were also increased; courses in physics, biology, chemistry, geology and trigonometry were each introduced in from two to four high schools. This was probably owing to the need to prepare students for college.[2] It will be observed that most of these changes affected the six upper grades rather than the primary or elementary grades.

An interesting development was the introduction of courses in vocational guidance in five villages. The 1924 survey showed the great need for this;[3] but at that time nothing was being done in any community along this line. Six villages also started kindergartens. Two county seat villages also experimented with junior colleges, but had to give them up because of the cost.

[1] *Cf. The United States Daily* (Washington, D. C., Dec. 31, 1931) Vol. VI, No. 225, p. 1.

[2] Other courses added were: health and physical education, six; art or drawing, five; publis speaking, five; French, industrial arts, teacher-training, mechanical drawing and world history, two each; dramatics, journalism, electrical engineering and general science, one each. Courses dropped, other than noted, were: Bible study, two; civics, French, Spanish, Latin and general science, one each.

[3] *Cf. The United States Daily* (Washington, D. C., Dec. 31, 1931) p. 149–151.

Since the conclusion of the field work, the pace of curriculum changes has accelerated, as a questionnaire check-up in March 1932 showed. Three-fifths of the schools added 101 courses and dropped 36. One-third of the new courses were in social science, with economics and civics leading. Twelve schools added work in vocational guidance, so that now one-eighth of the schools give attention to this subject. Commercial subjects were introduced in thirteen schools, but were eliminated in seven. Apart from this, the subjects dropped were almost all either Latin, higher mathematics, physics or chemistry. In other schools these subjects were put on an every-other-year basis. Agriculture gained eight and domestic science five schools, biology six. Many of the replies stated that these changes were in response to the existing socio-economic situation.

It should be added that far more fundamental than changes in courses and programs are changes in the method of teaching and the content of the courses. Adequately to appraise these courses, it would require answering such questions as: How many modern problems of immediate importance are considered in the new courses in civics? How many techniques of present-day life are treated in the new commercial courses? How many units are developed on coöperative marketing or conservation of resources? What preparation and opportunity do teachers have for selecting content and procedures that will lead pupils to a better understanding of some of the pivotal issues of rural life? What conception of social and economic theory do the teachers have? Unfortunately, such questions lay outside the scope of this general investigation of rural social change; but from an educational point of view they must eventually be answered.

LEGISLATIVE CONTROL OF THE CURRICULUM INCREASING

One tendency in curriculum building, or at least in program making, that has little to do with considered educational policy seems to have been a factor of increasing influence, namely, legislative enactment.

Every state at some time or other has legislated with regard to the curriculum of its public schools. All told, schools have been directed to do more than fifty different things, and have been forbidden to do certain other things. One or more states require special observance of twenty-one different days, such as Washington's Birthday, Armistice Day, Arbor Day, Good Roads Day. In one eastern state, which ranks very high on the Ayers Scale, the legislature has made it mandatory upon each school to do, at least once a week, twenty-one different things, varying from a daily salute to the flag and a daily reading of not fewer than five verses of the Bible, to a weekly fire drill. There have been seventeen different enactments on the promotion of nationalism or patriotism, about half of which are mandatory in half or more of the states. In matters of curriculum, drawing is mandatory in ten states, music in eight, cotton grading (!) in one, and so on. In all, the forty-eight states have placed upon the

statute books nearly 1,000 enactments relating to the way time is spent in the schools.

There seems to be an increasing tendency for legislatures to exert this sort of control. Between 1913 and 1923 there was a 22 percent increase in the number of such laws and more have been passed since. Frequently the enactments are made in response to determined lobbying by special interests. The Women's Christian Temperance Union began, even in the last century, to secure laws directing the teaching of the harmful effects of alcohol. Various patriotic organizations are responsible for laws requiring the teaching of, or periodic reading of, the Constitution of the United States. Sometimes the manner of teaching and the amount of time to be expended are decreed, and often the provisions pay scant attention to the best principles of pedagogy.[1]

Enactments of this kind usually apply with equal force to schools in both urban and rural communities. The effect, however, is different. The teacher who has from four to eight grades under her care may find it extremely difficult to fit into the program all of the twenty-one items required by law in the state alluded to. The teacher in the one-room school, and this includes two-fifths of the public school teachers in America, if she gives the half-hour daily per grade to instruction in arithmetic, as required by some state laws, may not find time even for the other two R's, to say nothing of the rest of the so-called "fundamental subjects"; whereas the teacher with only one grade can do this easily, and would without the direction of the law.

The compulsory inclusion of music and drawing in the curriculum also raises problems for the open-country school. A teacher, however excellent in the fundamental subjects, may have little or no skill in teaching these two cultural subjects. A small, weak school district under such circumstances may have to incur considerable expense to obey the law. In the city, or in a consolidated school, a special teacher or two can be employed to teach these subjects to all grades and schools at a relatively far lower per pupil expense.

In these two situations then, and especially in the first, school boards or teachers are faced with the alternative of ignoring the law or of handicapping the conduct of more essential work if the law is complied with. In hundreds of small communities, therefore, the law becomes a dead letter, a solution to the problem which is admittedly the less of two evils.

PROGRESSIVE TENDENCIES

Modern tendencies in curriculum building were noticeable in a number of villages. A few had completely reorganized, modernized and enlarged their curricula, two after careful surveys. Several others departmentalized

[1] For a full discussion of this important subject see Flanders, *Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum* (New York, Teachers College Press, 1925), from which some of the above facts have been taken.

their work from the fifth or sixth grades on up. Two villages, one large and one medium sized, began separate work for backward children.

A Progressive School, Prophecy or Exception.—In one village, Georgetown, Delaware, was found the most interesting development of all. Here the community, somewhat assisted by a private outside organization, is offering to rural children educational opportunities comparable only to those found in progressive private schools and a few progressive public schools.

The curriculum is definitely country-centered, though world inclusive. Hikes, ornamental planting of the school grounds, planting of fruit and nut trees, picnics, studies of local industries, including types of agriculture and studies of local conditions, are all part of the program. The school coöperates in many ways with social organizations in the area it serves. For instance, junior choirs are being developed in the churches by offering technical training to the children and assisting local leaders. Old people have been brought to the school to demonstrate to the children activities of historical significance.

Coöperation has also been established with the State Board of Health and state clinics of various sorts, including psychiatric. The first school nurse in the state has been employed. Children under school age are examined and followed up. There is a good cafeteria in the school; and there are nutrition classes. Milk and fruit juice are served in the mid-period, local organizations aiding those who are unable to pay. The personal standards and habits of the children have been improved through the use of school bathing facilities by non-athletic children.

Activities for adults have not been neglected. These are designed to help in their own development through meetings, cultural, occupational and recreational groups and classes. There is also a special program of education for the parents of children under school age.

The director of this experiment has been specially trained in rural education; and while some experienced, progressive teachers were imported, local teachers were also used after they had been given special training.

This experiment closed its first year in September, 1931; but already many results are said to be apparent. Parents are much interested, and requests have been received from more districts for consolidation. Social, moral and health conditions among the people are said to have improved. There are evidences of increasing civic consciousness of educational needs. At the end of a year of this experiment the director reported that the students "are a year to three years more advanced on Stanford Achievement Scales for literate subjects, grade by grade." This program costs no more per child than is spent for city children in fourteen states in the Union; and the costs as figured include some capital outlay expenses for playground and other equipment, lockers, cupboards and the like.

Apart from this one school, the results do not show that these villages have made any considerable adjustment to the demands that are being placed upon them by present-day conditions.

CURRICULUM IMPLICATIONS IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION

The influx of country youth into village schools requires a re-thinking of the curriculum in terms of the needs of two groups of young people of equal strength and importance coming from somewhat different environments, the farm and the village. It has been safe to assume in the past that the village boy or girl, who did not stay in his home town, would head city-ward. Proportionately the exodus of village youth to the city has been greater than the better-advertised big parade from farm to city, if the house-to-house enquiries of the Institute of Social and Religious Research in a number of the villages it studied in 1924 are any basis for judging. A high-school training with a distinctly urban slant was therefore quite legitimate for these village high schools. Those farm youths who received such training fifteen or twenty years ago were probably destined for the city when they left their ungraded elementary school.

But are such assumptions safe under the new conditions that have developed since the World War?

The challenge contained in this question cannot be met by introducing an optional course in agriculture into the high-school curriculum. This has been done in two-thirds of the villages of the Middle and Far West, and in half of those in the other regions. It goes deeper than that. It involves the matter of how agriculture shall be taught; whether as a discipline or a practical vocational subject; whether as a thing apart or integrated with the rest of the curriculum so that the farm-bent youth may learn that making the most out of agriculture ties up with social relationships and obligations, and with processes of marketing, which require an understanding of economic trends and of the technique of coöperation, as well as the traditional techniques of seed testing, tree spraying, and all the things that enter into the production processes of agriculture.

In only a few of the schools, that included agriculture in the curriculum, was the subject being considered in any such thorough-going way as this; and in more than one-third of these village high schools the subject itself found no place in the curriculum. Among these were some schools that had once taught it but had dropped it and substituted a commercial course, either because the subject was too expensive or because of the agricultural depression. Now that there is an overproduction of candidates for white-collar jobs, one wonders whether these schools will reinstate agriculture and drop stenography and typewriting!

Such flexibility as was shown by the dropping of agriculture from the curriculum may delight anyone enthusiastic about the adapting of cur-

riculum to needs. But was this shift such an adaptation? Does not the very existence of the depression call for an organization of the teaching of agriculture that will go beyond the production aspect, which has monopolized so much attention, and consider the whole subject from the seed to the sower, from cultivation to marketing? Agriculture is not going to disappear because farm land lost 35 percent in value from 1920 to 1930.

But the whole aspect of high-school curriculum must be considered from two other aspects. Where are the graduates of the system now going? What do they intend to do in life? The data of this study permit an answer to only the first of these questions.

An analysis of the recent graduates of the high schools in the communities surveyed, as already noted, showed that more than half continued their education in other institutions. The proportion seems to be steadily increasing. About one in three of those who went on entered business schools or other trade schools, some of which doubtless had no set standard of academic excellence as a prerequisite for admission. The other two-thirds entered college or normal school, with roughly one in four of this group going to the latter type of institution. Of those going to college, only one in five (or, if New York and Pennsylvania again be excluded, one in four) go to agricultural colleges. There would seem to be at least two clear-cut implications in these facts for the rural high school.

In the first place, the rural high school is a college preparatory school to a considerably greater extent in proportion to its enrollment than is the urban high school. One clear evidence of this, in addition to the proportion of students going on to college, is found in the 1930 Census. In urban America, 22.5 percent of the population from eighteen to twenty years of age inclusive had attended school in the year of the Census. In these villages the proportion was 33.2 percent for both sexes. Urban high schools often minimize college preparatory work. "We must prepare for life, not for college," they say. Despite its smaller resources, evidenced in a lower per pupil valuation and cost than obtained in the cities, the rural high school cannot take that attitude. It must do college preparatory work to the best of its ability because nearly half of its students need it.

The second implication of the facts given is that since so few high-school graduates go on to agricultural colleges, as was shown in Table 91, agriculture is very evidently not for them a college preparatory subject. Those who take it in high school are far more likely to go back to the farm than to go on to college or to the city.[1]

Of course, the richness of a curriculum depends somewhat on financial support. Each new subject added involves more time for teaching, and, if it be one of the precise sciences, more space and supplies for laboratory work.

[1] Studies in Wisconsin show a contrary tendency in recent years.

The school is limited by the taxpayer. The taxpayer may be penurious, or he may be limited by his resources. If the community really lacks wealth, then persuasion and idealism may secure the funds for a new building or a new course or a library or any other desideratum; but such action ends other advances until wealth increases. Each expansion of plant or curriculum should be made not merely because it is desirable, but only after considering whether it is the *most* desirable thing in the event that no other forward step can be taken for a considerable time. There has been too much guesswork in rural school expansion. Things good in themselves have been done, but their doing has prevented the accomplishment of other things that would have been better for a given school system or even a given community just at that time with just the resources available.

This condition lends point to any effort to discover what social utilities the rural community can afford. Educationally, it is one of the strong arguments for centering rural education in the village, whether through legal consolidation or otherwise. For the village school or open-country consolidated school, if it includes a broad enough territory, offers the only opportunity for rural children to receive instruction from trained teachers and to benefit by an enriched curriculum.

The rural schools face still another problem in the rising tide of rural discontent, a discontent unmistakably registered by the unprecedented migration from the farm to cities and towns up to 1930 described in Chapter II. Probably many of the people who left the farms should have left. Too much food has been raised; consequently, some people must stop raising it. When enough people have left the country, to overcrowd the crowded cities still more, there will be so many people to feed and so few to feed them that a back-to-the-land movement will need no agency nor Mussolini to promote it. But with the passing of urban prosperity, the pendulum has now swung the other way. As noted, an urban-rural migration is on.

This raises an important question for the school. Has it laid adequate emphasis upon the admitted natural advantages of the country, and upon the improved character of rural living; or does the training it gives deepen the discontent of its students with conditions as they are? After all, the counter-movement from city to farm, many millions strong even between 1920 and 1929, shows that the crowded ways of life have not led everyone to contentment. The mobility of our population is one of its privileges, a mark of our prosperity; but if moving on is to be a solution for every distasteful problem, mobility becomes instability. This is not a problem of the inclusion or exclusion of a subject in a curriculum; but here, for the rural school to consider, is a matter that involves a questioning of its whole emphasis and philosophy, an appraisal of its spirit, a determination as to whether it affects or is affected by the whims of the "zeitgeist."

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES EXPANDED

Educational activities in the thought of most of these schools are not confined to the formal curriculum subjects. Many extra-curricular activities are sponsored, chiefly along the lines of athletics. One effect has been the expansion of the sports program everywhere. In such sports as basket-ball, class teams for both boys and girls have frequently been added to school teams, and in several schools athletic coaches have been added to the staff. In others, the teacher of physical education, which in a few states all schools are now required to have, performs this function. Popular interest in high-school athletic teams is also keener than in 1924. One school has tempered this athletic interest by awarding the letter to those excelling in scholastic, moral, and "school civic" activities. As part of their outdoor program, a few schools are conducting summer playgrounds with paid directors. No instances of this were found in the 1924 survey.

Musical activities have also tended to increase, especially glee clubs and orchestras, which were found in from two-thirds to three-fourths of the schools. There were five new bands, one-sixth of the village high schools having such an organization. These organizations frequently played for community functions, and a few bands received part of their support from the village municipal budget. This increase in musical interest was due in part to the recent influence of state universities, some of which conduct annual contests of high-school bands, orchestras and glee clubs.

Another activity now found in virtually all schools is dramatics. This is popular with pupils and parents alike. Nearly half the schools also employed pageants in their dramatic work. About three-fifths had organized debating, nearly twice as many as in 1924. Many schools reported an increased interest on the part of patrons in the work of the school. This in many cases was definitely cultivated by the school authorities. In addition to the devices reported in the last survey for increasing this interest,[1] two schools solicited the attendance of parents at special Friday afternoon assemblies, and another invited parents to special evening classes. Attendance of patrons at all public-school functions was reported as increasing, especially where roads had been recently improved. Only one school was less of a social center than in 1924.

One of the important means for securing the coöperation of the patrons with the school is the Parent-Teachers' Association. As noted in Chapter IX, practically half of the villages have such organizations, 20 percent more than in 1924. The average membership of these groups had increased 40 percent to 112, while the average number of men belonging jumped more than 50 percent to 31.

[1] *Cf.* Brunner, Hughes and Pattern (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927) 168–169.

The Major Trends.—This survey of the schools of 140 representative farmers' towns shows, then, quite a number of changes in the rather brief inter-survey period. The trend towards the consolidation of education for rural children in villages and towns is continuing; and with it the proportion of open-country pupils in the schools of the center is increasing, thereby raising problems of curriculum adjustment, but resulting in a definite drawing-together of village and country. There has been a phenominal expenditure for new buildings and improved physical equipment and an attendant increase in school budgets; but teachers' salaries have shown in the main little or no improvement, in part because of the oversupply of teachers that has arisen.

A larger proportion of school budgets comes from the state, and the control of the local school system by the state is, as an indirect result, increasing. Teachers are considerably better trained professionally, and the average attendance is higher than in 1924. The number and percentage of high-school graduates continuing their education has grown. The curriculum is more vocational, but includes more social science, and extra-curricular activities have increased. The school is becoming more and more a community center and agency. There was much local testimony to the effect that improvement along other lines followed improvement in plant and equipment and consolidation.

These changes, of course, reflect changes in public opinion as to what the school should be and do. County superintendents of schools or other supervisory officers testified to this change, and stated that it was easier to secure and re-elect progressive school superintendents and directors. They believed also that the educational and cultural level of many communities was being raised.

OTHER EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

Though the school, as the chief educational agency, can probably claim much credit for the extent to which this last statement is true, it is not the only institution or factor that has been influential. Chief among the others have been the movement for adult education and the library.

Adult Education Being Given More Attention.[1]—The schools play some part in adult education, twenty-two as against nine in 1924 were holding classes for adults.

State universities were also contributing much toward the adult-education movement through extension courses and extension lectures. Though definite facts were not secured, the unanimous opinion was that the use of such facilities by the people of the communities studied was increasing. In one county, over fifty extension classes were held on a wide

[1] For a thorough-going study of the status and prospects of adult education in rural America see Willard, John, and Landis, Benson Y., *Rural Adult Education* (New York, Macmillan, forthcoming).

variety of subjects, including English and American literature, modern fiction, modern poetry, French, cooking, sewing, auto mechanics, famous paintings, European cathedrals, and musical appreciation. These courses ran from mid-fall to the early spring, and were held once a week. Any ten people who agreed on a subject could secure a class and an instructor. No credit was given; but at the end of the 1929–30 program, over 1,000 people gathered at the county seat for a mass-meeting and received certificates signifying that they had satisfactorily completed the course. In 1931–32 there was an even greater response, about one-tenth of the adult population being enrolled.

Contribution of State Extension Service.—The largest adult educational effort is through the federal and state extension service heading up in the colleges of agriculture. While largely vocational and majoring on agriculture and domestic science, there has been a recent trend to include appreciational subjects as well as skills. From relatively small beginnings, financed in part by outside agencies, this work has grown enormously. It took root first in the South, where, as early as 1915, nearly half of the counties had so-called county agricultural extension agents, and one-fifth women agents. The total cost in that year was just under three and one-half million dollars. This machinery seemed to furnish the best means during the World War to reach the farmer with suggestions for raising the food to win the war and by 1920 expenses had more than quadrupled. Since then they have grown steadily with the expansion of the system, and in 1931 the total cost exceeded twenty-five and a half millions.

The steady expansion in budgets has been accompanied naturally by a steady increase in the employed personnel, though in the case of the white county agents the peak was reached during the World War, as the tabulation of the proportion of counties served shows.

Year	Served by Men Agents	Served by Women Agents
1915	37.0	11.4
1918	79.3	55.8
1920	66.2	25.5
1925	69.1	30.2
1930	77.2	43.3

The work of this great system is carried on through specialists attached to the agricultural extension service of each college of agriculture, the county agents, and a quarter of a million local leaders through definite projects. It is very interesting to note that, despite the rapidly changing conditions in rural America and despite the rapid increase in the funds available, the proportion of time spent by agents and specialists on various types of subjects has varied but little. There is, however, increasing discussion as to the necessity of expanding the work dealing with the human side of agriculture; but the discussion has not yet eventuated in a

TABLE 93.—DISTRIBUTION OF TIME OF COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK AGENTS AND SPECIALISTS,* BY TYPE OF PROJECT†

Project	Percent of time spent				
	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
All projects	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Soils	5.2	5.3	4.8	5.1	5.6
Farm crops	13.1	13.1	12.4	11.5	11.0
Horticulture	6.9	7.3	7.1	7.3	7.0
Forestry	0.5	0.7	0.9	1.0	1.6
Animal husbandry	7.1	7.5	8.2	7.8	7.6
Dairy husbandry	7.0	7.1	7.9	8.7	8.9
Poultry husbandry	8.7	9.0	8.8	8.1	7.2
Rural engineering	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.3	3.1
Rodents and insects	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.3
Agricultural economics	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.0	4.2
Foods	4.8	4.6	4.6	4.4	5.3
Nutrition	2.3	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.9
Clothing	7.9	7.1	6.8	6.8	6.2
Home management	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.7	2.0
House furnishing	1.2	1.8	2.0	2.4	2.6
Home health and sanitation	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
Community activities	6.2	5.9	6.0	5.8	5.9
Miscellaneous	16.6	16.0	16.3	17.0	16.4

* Only field work of specialists as reported by County Extension Agents is included.

† United States Department of Agriculture *Year Book*, 1931, Table 604, p. 1,084.

TABLE 94.—DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES IN COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK, BY TYPE OF PROJECT, AND BY REGION

(Percent of expenditures)

Project	1920					1925					1930				
	All regions	Middle Atlantic	South	Middle West	Far West	All regions	Middle Atlantic	South	Middle West	Far West	All regions	Middle Atlantic	South	Middle West	Far West
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Administration	6.8	7.8	6.1	6.3	8.3	5.8	7.9	4.9	5.1	6.8	5.2	8.8	3.9	4.0	5.7
County agents	52.3	44.0	50.6	59.4	50.8	51.4	38.4	50.4	59.7	51.1	49.0	33.5	49.9	55.8	55.5
Home demonstrators	14.9	13.2	26.3	8.0	10.6	15.5	15.1	27.4	6.4	13.1	18.5	18.6	28.8	9.2	16.6
Junior work	6.0	8.9	2.4	5.4	11.6	5.5	11.7	2.1	4.6	6.0	6.3	13.7	1.5	6.8	4.9
Home economics and child care	2.3	4.5	0.2	2.7	1.5	3.2	4.9	1.4	3.9	3.1	2.9	3.4	1.7	3.8	2.5
Animal industry	5.5	6.3	5.5	5.5	4.7	6.1	6.4	5.3	7.0	4.5	5.9	7.2	4.9	6.4	4.8
Plant industry	4.1	4.6	2.9	5.7	2.3	4.3	5.8	3.0	4.7	3.9	4.0	5.4	2.5	4.8	3.7
Forestry	†	0.2	†	†	†	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.6	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.4
Ag. engineering	0.9	0.6	0.7	1.4	0.1	0.8	0.4	0.8	1.1	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.8	1.2	0.4
Farm management	0.8	1.3	†	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.4	0.1	1.2	0.9	1.0	1.4	0.3	1.3	1.1
Marketing	1.2	0.8	2.1	0.7	1.3	0.9	0.6	1.2	0.9	0.5	1.0	0.6	0.9	1.3	1.1
Rural sociology	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.0
Educational	3.9	7.3	2.6	3.1	2.5	3.7	6.0	2.1	4.5	1.8	4.0	5.1	3.2	4.6	2.2
Miscellaneous	1.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	5.4	1.4	0.2	1.0	0.6	7.4	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.0	1.1

Source: Special tabulations from United States Department of Agriculture.

* Includes New England.

† Less than one-tenth of one percent.

larger proportion of funds being spent for this purpose, as Tables 93 and 94 show.

The same result is apparent when the funds are similarly apportioned. Even when the division is made on a regional basis, little variation is disclosed; which would appear to indicate a highly standardized program with perhaps too little flexibility and adaptation to changing needs.[1]

LIBRARY PROGRESS

Another important educational influence is the public library. It has been known for some time that rural people lacked library facilities, especially outside New England. In 1925 the American Library Association estimated that only 6 percent of rural people had a library accessible to them, as compared with 82 percent of city people.[2] This association has a Library Extension Board, a major responsibility of which is to promote library extension. One of its chief activities has been working for county libraries through which library service is secured by all the people of a county on a tax-supported basis, not only through libraries and branches in the chief towns and villages, but through depositories in the schools, stores or homes of hamlets, and in some instances through traveling book-trucks.

The County Library Movement Registers Gains.—This movement gained its first considerable foothold in California where, as early as 1920, 43 of the 58 counties had county library systems. There were only 56 counties elsewhere in the United States so organized at that time. Since then the movement has spread, though unevenly owing to differences in the economic levels of counties, to state leadership and other factors. By 1925, 79 new counties outside California had organized libraries, a gain of 141 percent. In the following half-decade, 47 more were added, three in California, a total gain of about one-third.

The spread of the movement evidently met resistance in this period. The growth was largely in New Jersey and the South, in which latter area demonstration county libraries were subsidized in eight states by two of the foundations. By the end of 1930, therefore, there were 225 county library systems in the United States, one-fourth of these in California and New Jersey, the only states with more than half of their counties organized for this purpose.

State and federal aid has been advocated as a means of spreading the movement. Such aid has already been given in New Jersey; and in 1931 Pennsylvania passed a law directing the appropriation of state aid to county library systems. State library commissions aid local libraries in many ways, however, particularly by loaning book collections, and by

[1] *Cf. ibid,* chapter on the extension service for a complete summary of the history, work and place in rural adult education of these services.

[2] *Library Extension* (Chicago, American Library Association, 1926) chap. ii.

securing particular books asked for through their local libraries by individual borrowers. Forty-eight of the village communities had such service, which was much appreciated by the local people.

Village Gains Slight.—The library movement made little progress in the 140 villages during the inter-survey period. As in 1924, slightly fewer than three places in five had a library, though in half the remaining places the school library was open to the public at certain times and under necessary restrictions. One-third of the libraries in the villages were parts of a county system, triple the proportion in 1924.

Size and region both affect libraries. Barely one-fifth of the places of less than 1,000 had libraries, as against nearly one-third in 1924. Of the medium villages, two-thirds had libraries, and of the large villages, seven-eighths. Two of every five of the villages in the Middle Atlantic states, one in four in the South, two in three of the Middle West, and four in five in the Far West enjoyed library facilities. The South was the only region to record a loss in this respect.

Size and region also affected the size of the library. Small village libraries averaged 2,100 volumes; those in medium villages 3,858; in large, 5,434. Regionally, the southern libraries had only slightly over one-half the average of 4,110 books per library, an average exceeded slightly in the two western regions. The Middle Atlantic average was 3,641. The number of books in these libraries had increased one-third in the inter-survey period.

The trend in the villages seems to be for the people to make more use of the library. At least the ratio of borrowers to total population had increased even in areas where it was high in 1924, as Table 95 shows. This tendency did not hold for the open-country population, except in the Middle West. The table also indicates that people in the western regions are reading somewhat more than they did.

TABLE 95.—RATIO OF LIBRARY BORROWERS TO POPULATION, AND ANNUAL CIRCULATION OF BOOKS PER INHABITANT, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Ratio of borrowers to population				Circulation per inhabitant†	
	Village		Open country			
	1924 percent	1930 percent	1924 percent	1930 percent	1924	1930
Middle Atlantic	*	53.0	*	4.9	2.9	2.7
South	7.0	6.3	0.1	0.5	1.1	0.5
Middle West	44.1	48.8	11.7	22.5	3.0	4.8
Far West	41.5	55.9	8.0	2.1	3.6	4.5

* No data for 1924.

† Circulation per borrower increased from 9.6 per year to 14.6.

The gain in circulation is not to be accounted for by an increase in the number of paid librarians since the 62 libraries having some paid assistance represent an increase of but one. It has been influenced in part, however, by the leadership of state, and especially of county, library officials; by the employment of better trained librarians; by the increase in the average number of books added, by nearly 50 percent, to 356 a year; and by the greater number of hours the libraries are open, the median now being 18 hours a week, while the minimum of 2 hours is found only in the South.

There is a clear trend for libraries to enjoy a larger measure of support from tax funds. In 1924, 41 libraries were financed entirely by private subscription, dues and fees. In 1930 all but 11 drew some support from government. On the other hand, while 6 of every 7 libraries were free to country borrowers or open to them on the same terms as to villagers in 1924, this was true of only 4 in 7 in 1930. This change occurred only in the two western regions. In the Far West it greatly reduced the number of open-country borrowers; but, as Table 95 shows, it had no such effect in the Middle West. The change almost always followed the placing of a library on the village budget.

It appears clear, therefore, that the supplying of library service to rural people is making slow progress; that the use of the existing libraries is increasing; that the responsibility of the community for the library is being increasingly recognized; and that further extension of service on any adequate basis awaits the spread of county library systems, probably stimulated by state aid.[1]

It is evident from this review of the educational services available to rural people, that the trends up to 1931 have been in the direction of what the agencies offering these services consider progress. There is more equipment, and more personnel. More persons are being reached. More money is being spent. The depression is causing a halt in these tendencies; and 1932 has seen not only efforts to economize for the sake of economy, but the beginnings of attempts to re-evaluate programs, to dispense with non-essentials, and to adjust activities to the new situation. In some states, too, the entire work of rural education is reported to be in jeopardy.

[1] *Cf. ibid,* chapter on libraries for a full statement on the history and present status of the library movement in rural America.

Chapter VIII

RELIGIOUS AGENCIES AND SERVICES

CHURCHES rank with the schools as important rural social institutions. Many communities have been built around these two institutions, even from the days of the pioneers to the present time. Today churches are the most numerous of all the social institutions and organizations found in rural communities. Their investments in buildings and equipment, as well as their incomes, are larger than all others except the schools, which in some localities they equal or exceed. In the number of people employed, and in contributions received, they exceed all other social agencies and organizations combined, except again the schools. In many ways then local schools and local churches have had parallel experiences.

The churches, as well as the schools, have felt the impact of changes in community and agricultural affairs. They are in the midst of, and under the same necessities for making, their own adjustments. In the last century, rural America was churched largely by the circuit system. Open-country "out-stations" were attached to a village or country parent-church and were under the care of the same minister. In the early years of the twentieth century, village churches increasingly sought independence of their country filials and the full-time service of their own ministers. Since the World War, there has been a decided trend for farmers, especially the more prosperous, to leave the open-country church and to affiliate with the village congregation, a movement that has weakened open-country churches and caused competition within the same denominational organizations. Farm populations have decreased, sizes of families have decreased, costs have increased, buildings and equipment have needed repairs or replacement; therefore, some kinds of readjustment or change seem inevitable.

The plan of the chapter is to trace some of the more important tendencies in these changing relationships. The chief sources of information will continue to be the 140 village and country communities studied in 1924 and 1930, the 21 counties in the 17 states visited in 1920 and 1930, as well as the United States Census of Religious Bodies, and the numerous studies made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.[1] The county surveys do not include Catholic churches.

[1] *Cf.* the following, published by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York: Brunner and Morse, *The Town and Country Church in the United States* (1923, 1926); Fry, C. L., *Diagnosing the Rural Church* (1924); Fry, C. L., *The U. S. Looks at Its Churches* (1930); Hooker, Elizabeth, *Hinterlands of the Church* (1931); Hooker, Elizabeth, *United Churches* (1926, 1928); Brunner, E. de S., *Industrial Village Churches*, (1930).

It must be recorded first of all that rural churches have changed less than any other of the rural institutions studied, except perhaps local government. In many places they have made fewer adjustments, and made them less readily, than have the other organizations and institutions. Nevertheless there have been changes.

A first tendency to be noted is the increasing proportion of village church-membership that is resident in the country. The corollaries of this are the smaller number of country churches and the smaller country membership. This tendency is not as great in the churches as in the schools, but still it is apparent.

Second, rural churches, considering village and country together, are somewhat fewer in number, though larger in membership; yet a smaller proportion of the population is represented in the membership.

Third, the leadership and the programs of work, while different in detail, give little evidence of changing tendencies.

Fourth, buildings are better, while budgets required on a per capita membership basis have become practically stationary; yet the uses to which contributions are put show a significant change.

Fifth, adjustments involving more coöperation seem apparent; yet evidence of competition persists.

A VILLAGEWARD TREND APPARENT

The trend toward an increasing proportion of country people in village church-membership has been most decided in the 21 counties covering the period from 1920 to 1930. The increase in this decade for the Protestant churches was from 22.6 percent to 39.3 percent. In the Middle West and the Far West half the members of village churches were country people in the latter year. For the fifteen places of over 2,500 and under 10,000 population in the 21 counties, the 78 Protestant churches increased the proportion of their country memberships from 6.0 percent to 23.9 percent during the decade from 1920 to 1930.

For the 140 village Protestant and Catholic churches studied in 1924 and again in 1930, the increases in country memberships were only nominal. The proportion for all regions in 1930 was 31.7 percent; for the Middle Atlantic, 24.1 percent; for the South, 24.2 percent; for the Middle West 36.9 percent; and for the Far West, 39.7 percent. The percentages represented a gain of about 4 percent during the period, which was a slightly larger gain than the rate of growth for the country populations in the community areas of the villages when corrections were made for changing community boundaries. As one would expect, there were higher percentages of country people in the smaller village churches than in the larger ones.

Gains in the Number of Country Memberships.—Approximately one-third of the village-church leaders reported definite gains in the

number of their country constituency. Many of these gains resulted from the enlarging of the parish areas, a condition reported by one-seventh of the total number of churches. For the others, the increase came from a more intensive cultivation of the territory already served. There were denominational differences also. Churches that adhere to the circuit system with its attendant higher density of churches in a given area have few country members in their village churches, because they have more country churches nearby.

On the other hand, bodies like the Roman Catholic, which tend toward greater centralization of work, have larger proportions of country people in their village churches. But even with the former type, strong village churches are attracting the more prosperous farmers and thereby introducing a competitive situation into their own church organization.

Losses of Country Churches Increase Village Memberships.—A further indication of villageward trend was the positive relationship that existed between the increase of country members in village churches and the abandonment of country churches in their areas. Village churches, however, rarely if ever absorbed all the members of abandoned country churches, many of whom ceased going to church, particularly in localities in which the proportion of farmers owning automobiles was low.

This effect of the abandonment of country churches is further shown by the fact that between 1924 and 1930 practically one country church in every five died, while the proportion for village churches was one in every fifteen.

But there are birth-rates as well as death-rates for churches, as the next section of the chapter will show. Open-country churches showed a net decline of 10.8 percent while the net figure for the entire sample was 4.5 percent. The number of village churches actually increased. Furthermore, half the total gross gain for all churches was in the Far West, which the denominations evidently still look upon as a field for church-extension activity.

Villageward Trend Likely to Continue.—The analysis appears to indicate a rather high degree of stability among village churches and among those country churches removed from the direct influence of villages or towns, but a slow though accelerating decline in the number of country churches within village community areas. An increasing proportion of country people in the membership of the village churches is also apparent. With a few exceptions, little evidence was found to indicate an awareness of this centralization in villages, or of its social or religious implications on the part of church administrative leaders.

The trend toward the village church is likely to continue. More than once, field workers were told of country congregations in which a majority of the members desired to amalgamate with a church of their own faith in the village but desisted out of deference to a few older members. In

the Mid-West field workers were frequently told that the number of open-country members in village churches could easily be increased if the village pastors would cultivate the rural hinterland. The complaint was made that the village pastors seemed quite unaware of the closing of open-country churches, though this was not always the case. Three village churches were found that brought country members in by buses; and this had greatly increased the number of their members from farm families.

CHURCHES FEWER AND LARGER, BUT WITH SMALLER PROPORTION OF POPULATION IN MEMBERSHIP

In the last decade rural churches, including those of the village as well as those of the country, have been subjects of concern on the part of all the major church bodies. Rural commissions or departments in the overhead organizations or in the training institutions have been established. Special summer schools for rural clergy have been conducted. In fact, the whole emphasis upon the rural field has been a major development during the period. The results, as shown by such changes as the number and size of rural churches and the proportion of the people affiliated with them, therefore, are of more than usual significance.

Fluctuations in the number of rural churches were rather large. They can be measured in terms of birth-rates and death-rates, and of the final net result observed.

Death Rates of Rural Churches.—Obviously the increased efforts on the part of church bodies through commissions and training could not sustain the life of all rural churches. Abandonment is one form of adjustment to changing social conditions. It is not surprising, therefore, that of the 1,399 churches found in the village communities in 1924, 186, or one in seven, had died by 1930. Roman Catholic, white and Negro Protestant, all approximated this ratio, the first named slightly exceeding it. In the 21 counties the gross loss for the ten years, 1920–1930, was one church in eight. These figures do not include churches that started after the former survey and died before the 1930 study, of which, especially in the counties, there were quite a number. Nor do they include a considerable number of churches that closed for one or more years after the earlier surveys but were again making an attempt to function at the time of the 1930 study.

An examination of these gross losses is important in that it shows what makes churches die. Of special significance, as was pointed out in the preceding section, is the difference between churches in villages and those in the open country contiguous to the 140 villages. About one country church in every five died between 1924 and 1930; but only one in every fifteen of the village churches. (Half of the Roman Catholic open-country churches ceased to function.)

Further analysis shows that the heaviest gross losses in the number of churches have been suffered by three types of denominational groups, the Methodist, the immersionist, and that of the emotional sects.[1] One-third of all the churches of this last group that were found in 1924 had died by 1930. One-fifth of all village churches that gave up were members of these sects. Disturbing to the old-line denominations as these highly emotional groups often are, serious as the problem they created appeared to be in 1924, and rapid as their spread was between 1920 and 1925,[2] the movement seems in large measure to lack the ability to stabilize itself in local communities. Therefore what appeared at the time of the earlier survey to be an important new trend in rural religious life does not seem so important now. The proportion of the emotional types to the total number of churches declined 7 percent in the inter-survey period.

This is not to say that the emotional sects are destined to die out. They rise or decline with the arrival or departure of some leader who claims "the gift of tongues." Especially in the Far West was the prevalence of such leaders noted. They are especially adept in seeking out places where so-called Sunday-school missionaries have begun work; which, because of the wide areas they cover, are poorly supervised. The radio broadcasting from the McPherson Four-Square Gospel Temple in Los Angeles helps to create local interest in such itinerants when they arrive in a community. The emotional sects had made least progress in the South. It has been pointed out that this type of church frequently secured its following among the economically disadvantaged in a community. In some communities this was so clear-cut that all members and churches of the emotional sects were found in a single section of a village, as on "the other side of the railroad tracks." The fact that many emotional churches survived, that some new ones were started, that the people interested were usually recognized by local leaders as "different" in one or more particulars, would seem to indicate that these sects are meeting, however wisely or unwisely, some social and psychological needs of their members which the other churches were unwilling or unable to recognize or care for.[3]

The gross losses in churches in the Methodist and immersionist groups, ranging from more than 20 percent to 35 percent in particular denominations, were almost exclusively in the open country. These bodies, more than many others, have used the circuit system; that is, the linking of a number of scattered churches under one pastor. The weaknesses of this

[1] "Immersionists"—those denominations that practice immersion exclusively. "Emotional" sects are characterized by exceptional emotional stress in contrast with formalism.

[2] *Cf.* Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927), pp. 186–188.

[3] *Cf.* Brunner, *Industrial Village Churches* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930), pp. 114 ff. for a further discussion of this point.

system have often been pointed out; and these weaknesses, plus the villageward trend of open-country church-members discussed previously, doubtless account for these losses.

Another factor in the death of churches was failure in the competitive struggle for members. This appears to have been a factor in the demise of a large proportion of the 186 churches in the village communities that failed to survive the inter-survey period. The weight of this factor, as compared with others, cannot be determined; but with the overlapping parish lines, not only of all churches but of churches belonging to the same denomination, the element of competition cannot be doubted. In some of the more densely churched counties as many as half of the churches of the leading denominations were found to be competing for members with other churches in the same household. In the most densely churched county, thirty of the 100 churches found in 1920 had died by 1930, the majority being of the denomination that in 1920 had fifty of these 100 churches.

Population shifts were another explanation of the death of churches. More than two-fifths of the gross loss in the number of churches took place where communities had lost in population. One-fourth of the gross loss occurred in communities that were virtually stationary as to total population throughout the survey period. The departure of a group of people, such as Negroes to the north, the consolidation of the farms of a neighborhood into large mechanized units, the retirement of farmers or their shift to village residences, the transfer of the more prosperous members of open-country churches to village churches, were all factors contributing to the demise of rural churches.

Changes in farm tenancy also affect the fortunes of the church, especially the open-country church. In the 28 village communities in which farm tenancy was decreasing, despite the fact that the open-country population lost in 16 of them, the proportion of the population in church declined only from 35.9 to 35.0 percent. In the 43 village communities in which farm tenancy increased between 1924 and 1930, the proportion of the population in church dropped from 36.7 percent to 33.3 percent.

The trends in the 21 counties by regions, by village and country, and by denominations followed closely the results described for the villages, and are therefore not given in detail. The only exception to this statement concerned the emotional sects. Only two of the churches belonging to the sects ceased to function in the ten-year period; but very few were found in 1920. The close similarity in the results between the 900 country churches of the 21 counties over a period of ten years and the churches in the 140 villages over a period of six years suggest, as did much testimony obtained by field workers, that the death-rate of churches, especially those in the open-country near villages and towns, increased more sharply in the second half of the decade 1920–1930. The continued

agricultural depression, urban migration, and the better facilities of communication between country and village or town doubtless accounts for much of this increase.

Birth-rates of Rural Churches.—Thus far the discussion has confined itself to stating and explaining the gross loss among the churches of the counties and communities surveyed. But churches have a birth-rate as well as a death-rate. Offset against the loss of 186 churches is the birth of 123 others. The net loss, therefore, was 62 or 4.5 percent. However, the entire net loss is absorbed by the open-country churches where the net decline was from 619 to 552, or 10.8 percent. Village churches increased from 780 to 784.

What has called 123 new churches into being in the same period in which in the same communities 186 other churches were closed? The data show that the birth-rate of churches, like the death-rate, was highest in the Far West. Indeed the rate in this region was more than twice that obtaining in the Middle Atlantic and Middle Western regions and half again as high as that in the South.

The Far West is the most recently settled of the regions, and population fluctuations are still more frequent than elsewhere. It is the area in which the emotional sects are most numerous. One-sixth of all new churches were of this variety, and nearly one-half their gross gain was in the Far West, accounting for more than one-fourth the gross increase of this area. Most of the rest of the new churches in the Far West represent efforts on the part of such denominations as the Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, and Seventh Day Adventist to follow population groups of their own faith.

Denominations coöperating actively in state councils of Home Missions accounted for only one-fifth of the new churches. Half of the gain in the Middle West resulted from the organization of churches by Protestant bodies that seldom coöperate with others, including some emotional sects. One-third of the new Southern churches were Baptist; and another one-third were Negro churches. Most of the few new churches in the Middle Atlantic region will inevitably be competitive.

Most of these new churches in the three older areas were attempted resurrections of formerly active enterprises. This tendency is especially noticeable in the case of churches abandoned and reopened during the survey period. For some reason, denominations seem to make more effort to hold work at points established in the past than they do to redistrict their work in ways consonant with the probable demands of the future. In a few cases there were attempts at larger parish arrangements which involved readjustments of two or more churches. A few new churches grew out of disputes that left two churches where there had been one. Many new village churches resulted from an effort to follow up country people who had moved to the village. New churches had been organ-

ized in most, but not in all, of the villages in which population had increased rapidly during the inter-survey period.

Again the data on the churches of the twenty-one counties agree with that presented for the village churches of the 140 communities, save in three particulars. The net change in the number of churches was very small, from 914 to 909. These figures do not include churches closed and reopened within the survey period. A further explanation of this greater stability in the 21 counties lies in the larger number of emotional sects founded after the 1920 survey and still surviving in 1930. Nearly one-third of the gross increase of 120 came from this source. In one Western county there were as many new emotional churches started after 1920 as there were old-line churches surviving in 1930. If only the old line denominations as a group were considered, then the net decline would be even greater than has been stated.

Comparisons Show Small Net Decreases.—Bringing the decreases and the increases together, small net losses are shown in this matter of changes in the number of rural churches. Table 96 gives the comparisons with the net results and the regional variations.

The net result of the death-rates and the birth-rates brought together is more realistically shown by observing the changes within the same communities. Ten of the 140 villages experienced both deaths and births, as did twenty-three of the rural areas contiguous to villages. In these places, fifty-five churches died between 1924 and 1930; but forty-nine were born. In four villages an emotional sect supplanted one of the old-line denominations. In two cases, emotional churches of one type were superseded by two of another type. In the other cases, one type of denominational church, such as a liturgical, gave way to or superseded another, such as an immersionist.

In the open-country districts, the changes were more difficult to explain. Thus in four densely churched areas, though nine churches died, six were born. A Methodist Protestant supplanted a Methodist Episcopal. Two Methodist Episcopal churches died; but two more were started in open-country neighborhoods of a small but densely churched community, despite the fact that roads leading to the village had been improved and that there was a church of this denomination in the center drawing members from the entire area. There were twelve other similar cases involving seven other denominations. Thus more than two-fifths of the new churches organized in these village communities between 1924 and 1930 were in places so densely churched that more than one-fourth of all churches that died were contained in them.

The study was not able to discover any developing awareness on the part of denominational administrators of the social changes that result in the death of churches. Rather the death of a church of one denomination seemed to be looked upon as an opportunity to open one of another.

TABLE 96.—CHANGES IN NUMBERS OF VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES, BY CREED AND COLOR, AND BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Village churches					Country churches				
	Number in 1924	Churches gone	Additional churches	Number in 1930	Net gain or loss	Number in 1924	Churches gone	Additional churches	Number in 1930	Net gain or loss
	All churches									
All regions	780	52	51	784*	+ 4	619	134	72	552*	−67
Middle Atlantic	137	5	5	137	0	120	31	12	101	−19
South	183	4	12	193	+10	274	44	29	255	−19
Middle West	299	17	15	300	+ 1	178	38	18	157	−21
Far West	161	26	19	154	− 7	47	21	13	39	− 8
	White Protestant churches									
All regions	648	49	40	639	− 9	515	111	64	468	−47
Middle Atlantic	121	5	5	121	0	118	30	11	99	−19
South	123	3	4	124	+ 1	184	28	22	178	− 6
Middle West	263	17	14	260	− 3	168	33	18	153	−15
Far West	141	24	17	134	− 7	45	20	13	38	− 7
	Negro Protestant churches									
All regions	62	2	7	72*	+10	91	16	7	77*	−14
Middle Atlantic	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	− 1
South	57	1	6	64	+ 7	88	15	7	76	−12
Middle West	2	0	0	5	+ 3	1	0	0	0	− 1
Far West	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Roman Catholic churches									
All regions	70	1	4	73	+ 3	13	7	1	7	− 6
Middle Atlantic	15	0	0	15	0	0	0	1	1	+ 1
South	3	0	2	5	+ 2	2	1	0	1	− 1
Middle West	34	0	1	35	+ 1	9	5	0	4	− 5
Far West	18	1	1	18	0	2	1	0	1	− 1

* Five Negro churches that were country in 1924 were village in 1930, which changes 1930 totals for both village and country in All Churches and in Negro Protestant Churches.

This was especially true in the Middle Atlantic and South regions, which contained three-fifths of the places where both deaths and births took place in the same localities, though these regions have less than two-fifths of the entire number of churches involved in the investigation.

Final comparisons indicate very little in the way of trends, except that the number of open-country churches under the immediate influence of villages is definitely decreasing. Although the turnover, as represented by deaths and births, may seem large, it is actually smaller and the

proportion of survivals higher than among any other type of rural social organizations or institutions, except the schools, in these same communities.

The Tendency toward Larger Membership per Church.—The average membership of both village and country churches increased in both the 140 village communities and in the 21 counties. For just the white Protestant churches, every region showed an increase in the average membership. In the case of village churches in the 140 communities, it was from 140 to 149; and for country churches it was from 73 to 77. For the 21 counties, in the ten-year period ending in 1930 the village churches increased from 108 to 128 and the country churches from 72 to 77. The lower average for the village churches in the 21 counties is owing to the large proportion of small villages in these counties. Gains in the country-church membership in both the 140 communities and the 21 counties resulted, at least in part, from the abandonment of the smaller and weaker churches. In the villages the increases were due to increases in population and to the villageward trend of country memberships. Table 97 gives the full story for the 140 communities.

TABLE 97.—AVERAGE RESIDENT MEMBERSHIP IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES BY CREED AND COLOR, AND BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	All churches		White Protestant		Negro Protestant		Roman Catholic	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	Village churches							
All regions	148	155	140	149	83	76	287	308†
Middle Atlantic	162	166	151	161	*	*	274	226
South	136	149	154	164	89	84	*	*
Middle West	172	173	153	160	*	*	328	315
Far West	105	112	92	100	*	*	217	227
	Country churches							
All regions	80	82	73	77	117	114	134	125
Middle Atlantic	51	57	51	57	*	0	0	0
South	94	91	81	83	121	114	*	*
Middle West	84	89	82	87	*	0	*	*
Far West	57	61	55	59	0	0	*	*

* Churches too few to use average.

† Change due to great influx of Mexicans into two South villages.

The increase in average church-membership resulting from the elimination of some of the smaller churches is seen in detail in Appendix E. The proportion of village churches with fewer than 100 resident members dropped from one-half to nearly two-fifths. All regions shared in this

decline. With the country group, the proportion of churches with fewer than fifty members declined from 44.8 percent to 34.6 percent of the total number. This decline was most marked in the Middle Atlantic and Far West areas. These two regions, where village centralization has gone furthest, behave alike in most matters, especially where the proximity of communities and the influence of the automobile are felt.

The gains represented by the increased average membership of churches were not, of course, shared by all congregations; two-thirds of the village churches and one-half of the open-country churches reported a net membership gain in the year preceeding the survey. For the inter-survey period 47.9 percent of all surviving churches, or half of the village and two-fifths of the open-country churches, registered a net gain. In the case of two-fifths of the village and one-third of the country churches, this gain exceeded 10 percent.

In the 21 counties, gains in the 1920 to 1930 period were reported by three-fifths of the village and town and one-half of the country churches, with half the village and town, and slightly more than two-fifths of the country churches showing a gain of more than 10 percent. A considerable number of the churches showing sharp gains were in the counties that had enjoyed a considerable increase in population.

These rates held with only slight variations for both Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, and with less than a five-point deviation for all regions. The figures however are open to one correction that cannot be accurately estimated. In the case of one-eighth of the churches, membership figures were not available for either 1924 or for 1930. Some churches keep very few or very poor records. This is especially true among certain sects, and among the smaller churches with non-resident pastors. Had it been possible to secure dependable membership figures for this group of churches, the proportion of churches gaining, based on seven-eighths of the churches for which data were available, would without doubt have been reduced a few points.

Inactive and Non-resident Memberships.—It is important to apply a correction to the study of memberships for those members who are inactive; *i.e.*, those who have ceased to contribute, take part or attend, but who are still retained on the roll. In this particular, the results of the study of the 21 counties are somewhat different from those of the 140 village communities. For the counties the proportion of inactive in the total resident membership doubled between 1920 and 1930, rising from 9.2 percent to 18.9 percent. In the village communities the increase was only from 17.9 percent to 18.1 percent, which is practically no increase at all. Table 98 gives the comparisons.

It is significant to find that the total and most of the regional proportions of inactive members in both samples agreed very closely at the end of the periods studied; namely, in 1930. Apparently the increase in in-

TABLE 98.—INACTIVE MEMBERS OF VILLAGE AND COUNTRY WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES, BY REGION

Region	Percent of members inactive			
	In 21 counties		In 140 village communities	
	1920	1930	1924	1930
All regions	9.2	18.9	17.9	18.1
Middle Atlantic	8.9	17.1	18.7	18.2
South	17.2	30.5	22.3	29.8
Middle West	5.7	8.7	13.2	11.2
Far West	10.9	12.8	23.9	14.6

Roman Catholic churches are not included in this tabulation as practically all claimed to have no inactive members. Negro Protestant are not included either.

active members was checked in all regions except the South in the latter half of the decade. The field reports indicate that the practice of eliminating inactive members from church rolls had increased in the latter part of the period. One reason given was because general denominational assessments were increasingly made on the basis of membership records.

The proportion of non-resident members to the total membership increased, though only slightly. Those who had moved away from the community, but who in 1930 still retained active membership, made up 12.2 percent of the roll in the case of the 140 communities, and 13.2 percent in the 21 counties. In each instance the figures represent an increase of 1.7 points since the time of the earlier studies. This may be owing in some degree to urban migrations. As in the case of inactive members, the proportion of non-residents is highest in the South, where it is in excess of one-sixth of the total roll.

Proportions of Population in Church Membership and Attendance.—While existing congregations may be larger on the average than they were six or ten years ago, the greater tests of the trends in the influence of the churches are the proportion of the population enlisted in membership and the participation in terms of attendance. From the standpoint of the churches, the record in these regards may not seem so encouraging.

Membership Ratios.—Table 99 shows that in 1924, 35.3 percent of the people living in the 140 village communities were church-members. By 1930 the proportions had dropped to 32.9 percent.

The decline was shared by all regions, though the Far West and the South suffered greater losses than the others. Similarly, in the 21 counties, considering only the Protestant churches, the ratio of membership to total population declined even more sharply, falling from one-fifth to one-eighth of the total. The decline may have resulted in part from the rapid growth in population that took place in a few of the counties. The new arrivals may not have made their church connections promptly.

TABLE 99.—RATIO OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP TO COMMUNITY POPULATION—140 VILLAGES

Region	1924 percent	1930 percent
All regions	35.3	32.9
Middle Atlantic	37.9	35.9
South	38.4	34.9
Middle West	36.5	35.8
Far West	24.6	21.0

The trend in these localities appears to be counter to the national trend. The proportion of the total population in churches of all kinds was 55.4 percent in both 1916 and 1926 according to the United States Census of Religious Bodies.[1] The national situation may have changed since the 1926 federal religious census. Furthermore, the census figures were secured by mailed questionnaires; and the figures reported probably include active, inactive, and non-resident members and constituents.

Changes in church-membership, and in the proportion of the population in the church, are associated with changes in the population of the community. This is clear when the church records for the villages that in ten years lost 10 percent or more in population are compared with the records of those that gained at least as rapidly as the nation as a whole (16.1 percent). In the latter group, the net increase in church-membership was 4 percent, as against a population gain of 34.6 percent. The proportion of the population enrolled in the churches therefore declined from 33.1 to 29.1 percent. On the other hand, the decline in church-membership in the villages that were losing population was 6.2 percent, as against a population decline of 17.4 percent. This tendency for church-membership to decline more slowly than population declines and to increase less rapidly than population increases, may be considered a well-established trend. It has been met in other studies in both country and city.[2]

In a further attempt to secure some clue as to the reason for the decline in the proportion of the population in church, the proportions of people of both sexes of various age-groups in the population and in the church-membership were compared. The various age-groups of the population, and of the church-membership also showed little change. The proportion of men in the membership increased somewhat between 1924 and 1930, from 39.9 percent to 42.2 percent, in the village churches. The loss of influence by the church, so far as this is registered by the

[1] *Cf.* Fry, C. L., *The U. S. Looks at Its Churches* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930) p. 110.

[2] See especially Fry, *Diagnosing the Rural Church* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1924); and Sanderson, *The Strategy of City Church Planning* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1932).

proportion of the population on the church rolls, cannot therefore be charged to loss in any one age-group or sex-group.

It is a loss paralleled by a decline in attendance as well. If the total resident membership be divided into the total monthly church attendance, the average monthly attendance per member is seen to have dropped from 4.5 to 4.0 times. If figured on the basis of total population, there is also a decline. Total population in the village communities increased some 23,500; but the total monthly attendance declined 10,045, or from 1.2 to 1.1 times per person per month.[1] Naturally, therefore, despite increased membership per church, average attendance is lower.

If the attendance at meetings of the emotional sects were eliminated, the attendance ratio would show an even greater decline. These groups frequently had congregations out of all proportion to their membership. People came out of curiosity, attracted by the emotional manifestations often accompanying the meetings of such groups or by the reports of healing. Attendance at these meetings increased during the survey period in many places. Often people came from neighboring communities.

Any further explanation of this trend in attendance would have to rest merely upon statements made by many individuals to field workers. The problem seems to be one of a slight but definite slackening of the hold of the churches on the population. In part, the figures may be accounted for by turnover of population. The new resident retains his church connection in his former community longer than he holds to almost any other tie. But he may, and often does, attend church. This may be one reason why the ratio of monthly attendance to population declined only 8.3 percent, whereas the ratio of monthly attendance to membership fell off 15 percent. Other interests were reported as playing a part, such as those of the radio, picnics, visitors, week-end trips, golf clubs, and Sunday movies.

But back of these explanations may lie subtle changes in attitude. Some people have come to believe that they "get more out of a trip than a service." Increase in informal recreation was alluded to by others. Some reported loss of faith in the leadership of the church. "My children are college graduates. I can't insist that they hear a weekly exposition of eighteenth century theology that insults their intelligence. I go only from habit." So spoke one community leader; and with slight changes others echoed his remarks. Said a southern leader, "We attend church because we always have, and not because of what we get out of it. Our young people will be the last generation to support this type of church." Others have grown weary of competition among churches. Wherever church coöperation had for any reason been prevented, local leaders had lapsed into inactivity. Finally, the very ease with which Sunday movies had been legalized in villages of the Middle West and in some Middle

[1] See Appendix E.

Atlantic villages, where five years before attempts to legalize them would have met with strong protests by church people, would seem to indicate some changes of attitude or shifts in voting power.

PROGRAMS OF WORK AND SALARIED LEADERSHIP UNDERGO FEW MAJOR CHANGES

Main trends of the rural churches, so far as they concern growth and decline, the membership situation, and the relation of village and country units, have been presented. It is now important to ask regarding the changes that have taken place in the programs of work, and in the activities engaged in by the membership under the direction of employed leadership.

Activities and Programs Varied.—The work of the churches in their communities takes on various forms; but for many reasons there is little evidence of major changes in emphasis or in the forms. There were, however, modifications and significant changes which will be described as they were found.

Preaching Services.—At least in the latter half of the decade, preaching had become a relatively more important part of the program of the churches as measured by the time and attention it received. In 1924 one-fourth of the village churches had services less frequently than once per Sunday, a proportion that also obtained in the 21 counties in 1920. By 1930 only one-eighth had fewer preaching services than one each Sunday. Even in the open country, there was a small increase in the number of churches that held at least one service a Sunday. This trend means not that preaching is any more popular than it was, for as has been noted attendance is less, but that administratively and by the local pastor a preaching service at least once a Sunday is considered an important requirement. The mid-week service was being slowly abandoned everywhere except in the South; and there was a tendency to popularize and socialize the meeting wherever it was continued.[1]

There has also been a decrease in the use of the revival service or protracted meeting with its daily evangelistic preaching for several consecutive weeks. It was said that this was because of a lessening of interest in this device on the part of the people; though they complained that nothing had taken its place, that is, that their minister did not spend an equal amount of time in other activities for the benefit of his church.

According to statements made to field workers and their own observations, the preaching itself has become somewhat less doctrinal and theological and somewhat more instructional and social, with rather more emphasis on local situations than some years ago. In many places denominational differences were in reality differences in philosophy; and they

[1] See Appendix E.

were reflected in the preaching of the ministers. Such differences were frequently interpreted locally as the modernist-fundamentalist issue. It was noticeable that younger pastors were inclined to be more liberal. In one village during the survey the young pastor of the largest church announced a sermon on the "World Court." His neighbor in the second-largest church advertised a discourse on "Why God Won't Let It Rain In L——" containing "new, valuable, up-to-the-minute information all should hear." This incident may illustrate in a general way some of the contrasts frequently encountered.

Religious Education.—Next to preaching, the most important activity of rural churches is religious education, usually conducted by means of the so-called Sunday, Bible or church school. The proportion of the churches having such organizations increased slightly; so that by 1930, in both sample groups, nearly nine-tenths of the open-country, and nineteen of every twenty village churches conducted schools. The increased proportion among the open-country churches is again doubtless due to the death of the weaker churches in this group which had given up religious educational work prior to the previous survey. Enrollments increased in the counties and in the village communities alike; from 81 to 100 per school in the counties, and from 91 to 101 in the village communities. The increase was doubtless owing to the increased number of adults in these schools; and in the country to the abandonment of the weaker schools.

The gain, therefore, seems to have been at the rate of about 2 percent a year for both groups, considering all churches together. The village churches, however, made greater progress than those of the open country in this respect, although the latter showed a slight gain in the proportion of enrollment in attendance on a given Sunday, perhaps because the automobile made attendance easier, while the village schools showed a slight loss.[1] In the main, except for increased enrollments, the church-school situation showed little change and no definite trends, except that of holding fast to the traditional program. This is partly to be explained by the fact that no gains had been made in efforts to train the volunteer teachers who man these schools. Ten percent of the church schools in the counties, and 15 percent of those in the village, had teacher-training classes, proportions which were practically identical to those existing at the time of the earlier surveys.

In the educational activities other than those of the church school, some gains were reported. The method used most frequently was a special class in which doctrine and the responsibilities and privileges of church-membership were emphasized. The Roman Catholic and certain Protestant bodies, such as the Episcopal, Moravian, Reformed and Lutheran, have long used this system. Other churches have begun to adopt it,

[1] The details of these comparisons are shown in Appendix E.

especially in villages. Whereas the bodies named made up but one-seventh of the churches in the counties and one-sixth in the village communities, communicant classes were held in nearly one-fourth of all churches studied. At the time of the earlier surveys, the proportion was less than one-fifth. In the village churches, in 1930, the proportion giving such special training to prospective communicants was one-third.

Another feature of the religious educational program in some churches is a Daily Vacation Bible School. The survey of 1924 showed that this much-promoted movement had made progress in rural America. It was all but unknown in 1920, while in 1924 one-sixth of the village churches were conducting such schools. The gain has been maintained, since the proportion of churches in the two samples having this work in 1930 was nearly 18 percent. Again the churches of the villages naturally excel the open-country churches in this respect, one-fourth of them reporting schools of this kind.

On the other hand, the movement for week-day religious instruction, usually in connection with the public school, and with courses offered for credit, suffered a decline. One-sixth of the churches coöperated in some such plan in 1924, as compared with almost none in 1920; but the number dropped to one in twelve by 1930.

Enlistment of Professional Workers.—One objective of the religious educational work of the church is to recruit the future professional leadership of religious enterprises at home and abroad. There seems to have been a steady growth in the success of the rural church in this particular. The 1920 county survey showed that the number of young people taking up Christian service as a life work increased sharply in the years 1915–1919 as compared with 1910–1914. In the villages a similar result was apparent for the decade 1920–1930. The number of churches producing so-called "life-work recruits" increased from 178 to 213, and the number of individuals concerned went from 295 to 378. In the first half of the decade, one-sixth of the village churches and one-twelfth of those in the country furnished one or more persons for professional Christian service. In the latter half, one-fifth of the village churches and one-tenth of those in the country contributed. There was little variation in these figures among the regions, except that open-country churches of the South and the Far West made a comparatively poorer record, while the Negro churches in village and open country alike made a good one. Interestingly enough, in four cases out of five a church that produced one full-time worker in the half-decade also produced a second.

Work through Organizations.—In addition to organized work in religious education, churches have sought to promote the formation of age-, and sex-groups for specific religious and social purposes. Of these, the women's groups are the most important, both in number and influence. The majority of them exist to raise money for local expenses,

although many are missionary societies. The infrequent men's groups are more often mainly social in their character. Boys' and girls' clubs are also infrequent, and are usually of Scout type. With the spread of the 4-H Clubs sponsored by the agricultural extension service, church clubs for 'teen-age children seem to be slowly disappearing, especially in the open country. Mixed groups, usually made up of adolescents, are of the Christian Endeavor type.

The inter-survey period revealed practically no change in the organizational structure of these churches. About 70 percent have one or more such groups, averaging two and one-half per church. This ratio applies to both Protestant and Roman Catholic bodies. Village churches, quite naturally, are more likely than those in the country to have such organizations, the respective proportions being 85 percent and 59 percent.[1]

Social Programs and Events.—In the 1930 survey an attempt was made to carry the analysis of the church program one step further than had been done previously by asking questions as to specific activities in the social field. Over 90 percent of the churches reported such activities and in the aggregate it would appear that the rural church, especially the village church, is making something of a contribution to the social, and perhaps to the cultural, life of the community. Two-thirds of the churches, for instance, regularly announce community events from the pulpit or in their printed calendars. This in itself represents a decided change in attitude from that of ten or fifteen years ago when the propriety of such announcements was seriously challenged on the ground that they were concerned with other than spiritual activities.

More than half the churches, or, excluding the South, more than three-fifths, held special social events for the entire membership. The frequency of these events varied, of course. Some churches held them once a month; some once a quarter; some had only the traditional annual picnic.

Educational Features.—Nearly one-third of the village churches and about one-tenth of the open-country churches included lectures, concerts and dramatics in their programs. Again the frequency varied; but a considerable minority of this group were responsible for regular courses, in addition to such occasional events as home-talent productions.

In all these matters, the farther the country church was from a village or town, the greater the likelihood of including such activities in its program. More than one-tenth of the village churches, but less than half as many of those in the country, conducted classes, other than mission classes, of one sort or another. Many of these were in some aspect of home economics; but the others included a wide variety of interests, from teaching English to handicrafts and agriculture. There were also quite a number of special-interest groups, often organized around hobbies.

[1] Those interested in the details of this static situation are referred to Appendix E.

Use of the Social or Parish Survey.—One of the most interesting developments was the large use made of the survey technique in planning the work of the church. More than one-fifth of the 2,245 churches in the counties and in the 140 village communities had studied their situation in the two years prior to the last investigation. Especially with the open-country churches the use of the survey seemed to result in a much better record in membership-growth than was made by the average church.

On this point, comparable information exists for the earlier survey. At that time, the proportion was only a twelfth. It is probably no accident that the use of the survey is far more general in the West, where more than a quarter of the churches employed it, than in the South and East. More of the West is administered by national boards; and the last years have seen an increasing tendency on the part of these national organizations to attempt to build their policies on the basis of actual conditions.

The Professional and Salaried Leadership of the Churches.—The program and, to a considerable but unmeasurable extent, the general success of the churches depend upon their salaried leadership, the clergy. It remains therefore to discover as far as possible what changes have taken place in the training and support of the rural clergy, and of the organization of the rural church, in relation to pastoral service.

Collegiate and Seminary Training.—In the main, there has been but slight change in the proportion of the rural clergy that have received training. The proportion of men with college training has increased, and that of men with both college and seminary diplomas has declined. A smaller proportion have been content with seminary work only, while the proportion of untrained men has remained virtually unchanged. But the changes have been small both in the aggregate and in comparison with the marked advance made in the training of school-teachers in these same communities.

With respect to training, the Roman Catholic priests in the 140 villages stand out in sharp contrast with the Protestant ministers. More than 90 percent of this group are men trained in college and seminary, as against barely 30 percent of the white Protestant clergy. As in previous surveys, it was found that the pastors of village churches were better-trained than those in the country; and that the men who were resident pastors were better-trained than those who were non-resident.[1] In the villages, the proportion of ministers with college or seminary training or both varied from two-thirds to three-fourths according to the size of the village, with the medium-sized village making the best record and the small village the poorest. Among the geographic regions, a similar computation for the white Protestant ministers showed a range of from 55.6

[1] See Appendix E for details. The federal religious census of 1926 showed that more than half the rural clergy of white Protestant denominations lacked both college and seminary training. Only 22.6 percent had both.

percent to 72.6 percent of them with some institutional training above the high-school level. The Middle Atlantic region made the best record in this respect, with the Middle West, the Far West, and the South following in order.[1]

Resident and Non-resident Ministers.—The non-resident minister has been alluded to in the above discussion of training. The church that has a non-resident pastor usually shares the services of its minister with one or more other churches. This clergyman may live in the community of one of the churches he serves, in which case he is classed as a part-time resident for that church; or he may live at some central point where he has no church but which is convenient to all the congregations he serves. The disadvantages for the church of this circuit system with its non-resident pastor have often been pointed out, and are now fully admitted by country-church executives.[2]

The plan of a non-resident pastor is used especially by those denominations that attempt to take their work to small localized groups rather than to concentrate it in centers. It is a method that was more practical and necessary in the pre-automobile days than it is now.

Despite the earnest effort of denominational executives to increase the number of resident ministers, the record of the last five years shows that the proportion of full-time resident ministers in villages has remained virtually unchanged at 43.1 percent. There has been a sharp increase in the non-resident ministers in the country, more than two-thirds of the country churches being served by them.

This latter trend is probably a reflection of the long-continued agricultural depression and of the shift in some localities of the more prosperous members from country to village churches, thus reducing the power of country churches to pay for pastoral service. The shift of a church from full or part-time resident service was often explained on these grounds.

The number of churches served by each pastor remained almost unchanged in the inter-survey period, the average number of points served by resident pastors in village churches being 1.6 in 1924 and 1.7 in 1930.[3] An increasing number of pastors seem to be tacitly in revolt against this system. They tend to major on the main point of the circuit, in an attempt to develop it into a full-time church.

[1] The Roman Catholics were omitted from this computation because their high proportion of priests with full training would have weighted the results against the South, a region with only four priests in the thirty villages.

[2] *Cf.* especially Morse and Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States*, (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1923), pp. 55–56, 71, 100–101; and Morse, *The Social Survey in Town and Country Areas* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1924) pp. 76 and 87; and, for further discussion, the various regional volumes of the Town and Country Series of the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

[3] The details of the situation are given in Appendix E.

Short Time Pastorates.—The rapid turnover of ministers has been another problem of rural administrators. The average length of pastorate in the village communities in 1924 was barely two years. In 1930 it was two and two-thirds years, still short enough. Roman Catholic pastorates were double this period on the average.

Salaries of the Clergy.—Salaries, which had risen sharply between 1920 and 1925, seem to have reached a level in terms of general averages. The average salary of all ministers declined from $1,441 to $1,433. This general average, however, is the product of increases in the Middle Atlantic states and the Middle West and of decreases in the South and Far West. The decreases, moreover, have been borne chiefly by non-resident ministers, who were receiving less in 1930 than in 1924 in all regions except the Middle Atlantic, the average being $1,107 as against $1,148 at the earlier period. Resident pastors of village churches, on the other hand, had lifted their average income from $1,592 to $1,653; but the increase again was confined only to the Middle Atlantic and Middle West regions. Resident pastors of open-country churches enjoyed an increase of from $1,014 to $1,063; to which all regions contributed, especially the Middle Atlantic and Far West. The Negro clergy and the Roman Catholic priests were not so well paid as the white Protestant ministers, averaging $729 and $1,209, respectively, against $1,684 for the other group. None of these figures include the rental value of parsonage, manse or rectory.[1]

The salaries paid by the churches were apparently not deemed adequate by a number of ministers. Nearly one-quarter of them supplemented the salaries received from the churches they served by working at another occupation. In both the counties and the 140 villages, there was a slight increase in the proportion of white Protestant ministers dividing their time between two occupations. As might be expected, more open-country than village ministers were forced to earn extra money, the percents being 35 and 15, respectively; but the increase of ministers with other occupations was greater in the village than in the country. The abandonment of the weaker open-country churches doubtless accounted for the nearly stable proportions in this respect.[2]

These ministers sought other work in a wide variety of occupations. One-quarter of the village ministers, and one-half of those in the country,

[1] No comparisons are given for the twenty-one counties, for the reason that in 1920 the rental value of the parsonage was calculated and added to the cash salary. This procedure proved impractical in later studies. The average salary in 1920 was $1,285, including the rental value of the parsonage which averaged $250. In 1930 the average salary was $1,409, without allowance for the parsonage where included. The proportion of village churches owning parsonages increased from two-thirds to three-fourths. There was a slight decrease in the open country to slightly more than one-quarter. Allowing for the fact that the average rural minister serves more than one church, this means that the rural clergy are now quite well provided with living quarters. This represents a considerable gain since 1910.

[2] The detailed figures are given in Appendix E.

otherwise employed were farmers. One-seventh of each group were students, and about one-tenth were teachers. No other calling enlisted more than half a dozen men; but included in the list were carpenters, editors, paper-hangers, chauffeurs, salesmen, osteopaths, insurance agents, gardeners, moulders, post-office clerks, painters, and clerks.

Ages of Ministers Unchanged.—One of the interesting facts about the clergy living in the agricultural villages is that their median average age remained virtually stationary between 1920 and 1930, as shown by the special census tabulation. It was 48.3 years in 1920, but 47.7 years in 1930. In no region for either period was the variation from these figures more than 1.2 years, and usually it was less than a year. Differences among the regions, especially in the proportion of ministers 65 years of age and over, develop, however, when the clergy are separated into broad age-groups. Table 100 tells this story.

TABLE 100.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MINISTERS,—177 VILLAGES

Regions	Percentage distribution							
	Under 21		21–44		45–64		65 and over	
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
All regions	0.4	0.3	46.3	41.6	43.7	48.4	9.6	9.7
Middle Atlantic	0.8	0.0	45.2	40.2	49.2	50.7	4.8	9.1
South	0.0	0.8	45.0	38.3	41.2	52.1	13.8	8.8
Middle West	0.7	0.0	49.7	43.6	41.8	45.8	7.8	10.6
Far West	0.0	0.0	42.2	45.8	46.6	44.4	11.2	9.8

It appears, therefore, that the clergy of all the major professional groups have not increased their average age. As is shown in other chapters, school-teachers and physicians were older in 1930 than in 1920. The clergy average from three to five years younger than the lawyers and doctors, but are four years older than the dentists.

BUILDINGS BETTER, BUDGETS ABOUT STATIONARY, BUT WITH CHANGES IN THE USE OF FUNDS

Programs of work require not only leadership but physical equipment, including buildings and grounds; and both the work and the leadership depend upon financial support. To some of the more recent forms of organization, the church plant itself is of increasing importance. As was found with the schools, so with the churches, marked improvements were made during the period under observation.

Church Buildings Improved.—The capital investment of churches in the 140 village communities increased exactly 20 percent between 1924 and 1930, which in the latter year represented a total investment of $15,111,000. The average value of village churches rose from approxi-

mately $12,000 to $16,000, while that of country churches increased from $3,000 to $4,000. Most of this increase in values represented new buildings or improvements and not an appreciation of general property values. Indeed between those years, the trend of rural property values was downward. The rural increase is also due in part to the abandonment of weaker churches with the inferior buildings. This gain in valuation of the churches did not equal that of the schools; but it did represent a very considerably increased investment by rural people in the housing of their religious activities.

These church buildings were by no means free from debt. Exact comparable data could not be secured; but most new buildings, and some erected prior to the 1924 study, were still mortgaged. In one village of less than 1,000 population, the church debt amounted to $100 per capita, double the per capita debt resulting from the building of a new school. In a number of communities in which there had been an orgy of building churches, members were finding difficulty in paying off indebtedness because interest charges absorbed so much of their resources.

Similarly in the 21 counties, there was a sharp increase in the valuation of church property amounting, because of the longer period covered, to a gain of 100 percent in the villages, and of 33.3 percent in the country. Average valuations in 1930 in the counties varied only slightly from the 1930 village sample. All told, the 909 churches in these 21 counties owned property locally valued at $9,675,000. The proportion of churches worth less than $1,500 declined from 30 percent to 20 percent of the total number; and four-fifths of those left were in the South. All size-groups of villages and all regions shared in the increase in the value of church buildings as Appendix E shows.[1]

Of the total investment, one-seventh was in Roman Catholic churches which constituted only about one-seventeenth of the total number of churches. The average valuation of these churches in 1930 was about $27,000 and $12,300 for village and country respectively.

Financing the Work of the Churches.—In the matter of church finances, the passing of the years showed few changes. The 140 village communities continue to spend somewhat over $2,000,000 a year in the conduct of their church work, over and above expenditures for capital improvements. The Protestant churches in the twenty-one counties had a total budget of one and one-third millions in the fiscal years prior to the survey. These fiscal years usually ended March 31, 1930. For some they corresponded to the calendar year 1929.

[1] Interestingly enough, the average value of church buildings in the fourteen towns and small cities of from 2,500 to 10,000 population located in the 21 counties increased less than 1 percent from the 1920 valuation of $34,000. Possibly the larger places improved their church edifices earlier than the smaller ones, setting a style that the villages and open country followed. Apparently this is also what happened with school buildings.

While the total expenditures of these groups of churches showed only minor fluctuations, the average annual budget per church and the average annual contribution of each member varied in rather significant manner.

Average Annual Budgets.—For the 140 communities the average annual budget for all Protestant churches in the villages increased from $2,290 in 1924 to $2,402 in 1930, or a gain of 4.9 percent; and in the country the increase was from $648 to $709, or a gain of 9.4 percent. Roman Catholic budgets in 1930 averaged $3,355 for village and $1,318 for country churches. The largest group of the Catholic churches, that in the Middle West, averaged $3,542. These 1930 Roman Catholic figures differ very little from those of 1924.

In the 21 counties, between 1920 and 1930, the average budget for Protestant churches in villages increased from $1,742 to $2,238, a gain of 28.5 percent; and in those in the country increased from $699 to $828, a gain of 18.5 percent. For the churches in towns and small cities of less than 10,000 population, there was a loss of 1.5 percent, the budget averaging $3,958 in 1930. The increase in the budgets of the country churches reflects in part the increase in membership and the fact that there are fewer churches in the country than in 1924. Obviously the stronger ones survived.

Contributions of Members.—Per capita contributions tell a clearer story of the financial relationships of the member to his church. Here the declines in the counties for village churches from $19.33 in 1920 to $17.84 in 1930, and for country churches from $13.35 to $10.75 per member, reflect the drop in giving from the high level of war-time prosperity and the great church drives in 1920. In the 140 village communities, giving was more stable over the last five years, but the South and Middle West reveal some effect of the long-continued agricultural depression.[1] Per capita giving in the country has been remarkably stable in view of such untoward conditions.

The situation between 1924 and 1930 as shown in the 140 communities had reached a comparative stability, the variations for both village and country churches being only a matter of a relatively few cents per member. Table 101 indicates that there were surprisingly few regional variations in this tendency.

Per capita contributions to Roman Catholic churches varied from this total figure, the per capita gift in 1930 being $12.03. All regions except the Middle Atlantic averaged just over $10, while in the Middle Atlantic the average was $20.21. The 1926 federal religious census found that church expenditures per adult rural member of village and country churches was $13.27.

In many communities, however, the depression, even as early as the summer of 1930, was creating serious problems. Ministers and laity in

[1] Regional variations by size of community are given in Appendix E.

TABLE 101.—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY PROTESTANT CHURCHES, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Village churches		Country churches	
	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	$16.89	$16.38	$ 8.13	$ 8.57
Middle Atlantic	17.09	18.61	12.40	12.34
South—White	16.38	15.22	5.38	5.40
Colored	7.17	7.21	3.13	3.97
Middle West	17.81	16.25	12.39	12.57
Far West	19.35	19.54	12.33	16.13

several Southern communities declared that only relief from economic conditions could insure the survival of some of the country churches. In many places, churches had adopted retrenchment policies for the budget-year 1930–1931, such as reduction in salary and benevolences, adjustments which of course do not reflect in the figures given as these cover only the last completed fiscal year. In several Southern communities, large churches had decided to extend their fiscal year from March 31 to April 15 because farmers were expecting government loans for seed early in April and could then pay their church dues and thus save these churches from breaking their record of never reporting a deficit.

One of the factors related to contributions appeared to be wealth, at least if it can be measured as suggested in Appendix G by per capita retail sales. In general the higher the per capita sales in the community the higher was the per member contribution to the church.

Changes in Utilization of Funds.—Perhaps the most interesting changes in the financial situation in rural churches lie in the distribution of the funds. In a word, a larger part of the income goes to salaries and incidental expenses, and a decidedly smaller share to missions and other benevolences. This trend holds for both village and country churches for

TABLE 102.—DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Expenditure	21 counties				140 village communities			
	Village churches		Country churches		Village churches		Country churches	
	1920 percent	1930 percent	1920 percent	1930 percent	1924 percent	1930 percent	1924 percent	1930 percent
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Salary	39.4	50.5	47.0	52.9	43.6	49.4	48.3	51.4
Benevolences	29.1	22.5	29.3	19.3	31.8	21.6	32.0	24.9
Other	31.5	27.0	23.7	27.8	24.6	29.0	19.7	23.7

both samples. The decline in the proportion of the total disbursements going to benevolent causes ranges from over one-fifth to more than one-third, depending on the group, as Table 102 shows.

This decline in the proportion of the total budget going to benevolences is paralleled by a decline in the per capita contributions to this cause. Each individual's gift to his pastor's salary and the upkeep of his church increased in terms of averages; but in the village churches of the 140 village communities the average per member contributions for missions dropped from $5.64 to $3.54, and in the country from $3.28 to $2.15.[1] This trend obtains in all regions.

Among the explanations for this change there are three: the increase in pastors' salaries; the expense for upkeep of, and interest charges upon, new buildings; and possibly, as some testimony indicated, the loss of interest or confidence in the value and efficiency of certain types of missionary enterprises. Certain it is these churches were unable to increase contributions significantly; when one cause demanded more, another suffered.

INTERRELATIONS OF LOCAL CHURCHES IN TERMS OF COÖPERATION OR COMPETITION

Finally, questions of the interrelations of local churches arise. Are churches coöperating, consolidating, or competing more or less than formerly? Up to this point the discussion of the chapter has proceeded on an individualistic basis. Memberships, contributions, attendance and the like have been calculated on the basis of individual averages per church, or per member, without regard to any relationship that might exist between two or among several churches in the same locality, whether village or country.

The increasing concentration of the church-membership does point to questions of relationship existing among the churches. In the face of an increasing average membership, the total number of churches per community dropped from 10 to 9.5. This decline, as already pointed out, was exclusively in the open country. The average number of churches per village remaining at 5.6. This unchanged average was made up of an increase of from 5 to 5.4 in the medium villages, and of declines of from 4.3 to 4.1 and from 8.2 to 7.9 in the small and the large villages respectively.

Number of Churches per 1,000 Population, a Useful Index.—No exact measures of general interchurch relationships can be made; for many intangible elements, as racial, theological or historical backgrounds or traditions, can be depended upon to play their decisive parts in any final alignment within a given area or community. Nevertheless, a useful index for observing changes can be employed; namely, the number of churches per 1,000 population in any given community. This device fol-

[1] See Appendix E for regional details.

lows the plan suggested and utilized by the National Home Missions Council in its declaration of principles of comity at Cleveland, Ohio, in January 1928.[1] Although it was carefully stated that the ideal toward which to work was one church for every 1,000 people of like tradition, nationality and background, yet the index can be applied to all churches of a community in order to compare changes from one time-period to another.

When the number of all churches per 1,000 population in the 140 communities in 1924 and in 1930 are contrasted, rather definite tendencies are noticeable. Without an exception, the number has been reduced for every size of community, small, medium and large, and for each of the four geographic regions. Table 103 records the details.

TABLE 103.—CHURCHES PER 1,000 POPULATION, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	All villages		Small villages		Medium villages		Large villages	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	3.3	2.8	4.7	3.9	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.3
Middle Atlantic	3.6	3.1	5.0	4.5	2.8	2.3	2.7	2.3
South	3.6	3.1	4.5	4.2	3.7	3.2	3.0	2.5
Middle West	2.9	2.6	4.8	3.1	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.2
Far West	3.1	2.3	4.4	3.4	3.3	2.3	2.8	2.0

The same tendency holds for the 21 counties for the decade ending in 1930 when only the Protestant churches are compared. Table 104 gives this comparison by regions.

TABLE 104.—PROTESTANT CHURCHES PER 1,000 POPULATION, BY REGION,—21 COUNTIES

Region	1920	1930
All regions	2.4	1.9
Middle Atlantic	2.9	2.2
South	3.4	2.3
Middle West	2.3	2.0
Far West	1.1	1.1

The low ratios for the Far West and the Middle West, together with the smaller changes from 1920 to 1930, suggest that the rates of decline have been least in areas where possible competition was also less acute. The detailed figures indicate that in communities of small villages, except in the South, the decline in the proportion has been most rapid.

Further comparisons, made possible by grouping the communities by the number of churches per 1,000 people, show interesting trends. Table 105 gives the changes from 1924 to 1930.

[1] The plan states the terms under which comity undertakings are to be engaged in.

TABLE 105.—SPECIFIED DATA ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CHURCHES PER 1,000 POPULATION,—140 VILLAGES

	Number of churches per 1,000 population							
	Under 2		2 to 3		3 to 4		4 and over	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
Number of communities	21	28	49	48	40	32	28	32
Number of churches	122	172	475	457	413	329	366	378
Average membership	172	192	146	139	103	111	82	91
Percent with resident minister	55.7	76.8	46.3	58.5	38.7	54.8	30.1	40.2
Percent of churches gaining last year	65.3	64.3	58.7	65.6	52.0	62.8	50.0	55.7
Average attendance principal service	151	107	121	91	108	83	125	69
Average Sunday-school enrollment	114	120	104	106	89	96	83	86
Average expenditure	$2,193	$2,937	$2,097	$1,899	$1,544	$1,648	$935	$1,081
Per capita expenditure	$13.02	$16.00	$14.12	$13.57	$14.44	$14.60	$11.23	$11.71
Average benevolence	$565	$571	$659	$430	$461	$348	$319	$226
Percent of churches with Home Mission aid	13.9	10.4	7.2	15.0	10.0	17.3	12.1	16.9
Percent of population in church-membership	27.4	26.3	36.0	31.3	34.8	35.4	43.4	44.0
Number of resident ministers per 1,000 inhabitants	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.7	1.6	1.8
Percent of population enrolled in Sunday school	15.8	16.0	22.3	22.1	25.2	27.6	37.4	36.4
Local expenditures of church per inhabitant	$2.50	$3.62	$3.39	$4.12	$3.37	$5.14	$3.20	$5.00
Home Mission aid per inhabitant	$0.12	$0.06	$0.05	$0.08	$0.10	$0.16	$0.12	$0.14

At the time of the earlier survey, while churches that enjoyed comparative freedom from competition in terms of fewer units per 1,000 people were larger, better-manned, better-attended, and richer, it was found that such churches enlisted a smaller proportion of the population in church-membership if no correction was made for inactive members.

In the main these statements still hold; but careful examination of the table shows, among other things, that the proportion of communities with fewer than two churches for each 1,000 inhabitants has increased by one-fourth; that churches in these communities showed a greater gain in average membership, in total budget, in per capita contributions to all causes and to benevolent enterprises, than churches in communities in which the number of churches was greater. In fact, in some particulars the churches in this group were the only ones to show gains, while those in the more competitive situations registered losses. These gains were scored despite the fact that denominational policy increased the number of resident ministers in the competitive situations.[1]

[1] If the sample of communities were large enough to warrant analysis on a regional basis, the results would show even greater relative progress in the less competitive situations. A relatively larger proportion of less competitive communities are found in the Far West than elsewhere; but the Far West, as a region, makes a poorer record than other regions in a number of measurements of church efficiency. This weights the results in favor of the more competitive centers where regional factors make for better support for organized religion. Although such a regional comparison is given in Appendix E, several exceptional

Denominational policy also resulted in a sharp decline in the proportion of churches granted aid in the non-competitive situations, and an increase of the proportion of churches aided in the more competitive situations.

Home Mission Aid a Factor in Relationships.—The matter of aid brings up an important element in the whole problem of competition and coöperation among religious bodies; namely, the financial assistance given by the denomination at large to particular local congregations. In theory, such a subsidy is designed to share the resources of the entire church body with those who are economically disadvantaged. In practice, millions of dollars are given to churches that appear to be in competitive situations.

Liberals in all Protestant bodies have been attacking this procedure with increasing vigor throughout the last decade or more; and the last five years especially have seen continued effort on the part of most of the leading Protestant denominations to reduce the competition of one group with another in serving rural communities. In some states there have been comity agreements whereby underserved territory has been allocated to one denomination. In Vermont and a few other states, the various denominational superintendents have applied this principle to communities with too many churches per unit of population. One denomination has withdrawn from a given field, compensated by the withdrawal of another denomination in its favor in some other situation. In other places there has been local union under the auspices of some one denomination, or through federation, and occasionally through a non-denominational church.

The Home Missions Council has promoted the movement for coöperation with increased vigor, especially during the last five years. Under the auspices of this organization, conferences of survey and program in a number of states have listed so-called "under-churched" and "over-churched" communities. In a few places, so called larger parishes are interdenominationally administered, and more coöperative work for a broader program of religious education has been inaugurated. Many churchmen believe such enterprises, all of them recent movements, represent the beginnings of definite trends toward practical and effective coöperation.

For these reasons, the trends in home-mission aid given to churches in the counties and communities studied are of special interest. The success with which the announced policy of coöperation has filtered down from the national agencies that espouse it to the minor administrative units that use it, should be registered in the changes that have taken place in

situations skew these results. One Far West community with few churches, for instance, has had a large recent influx of Mexicans not yet cared for by the Roman Catholic or any other church.

this particular. The results cannot but be disappointing to the friends of interdenominational coöperation.

In the 21 counties, the proportion of Protestant-aided churches declined slightly from 23.8 percent to 21.4 percent. The annual grant, however, increased from $216 to $279, so that the total amount of aid expended actually increased by 16 percent. In the 140 village communities, the number of aided Protestant churches rose from 11.1 percent to 14.1 percent. Most of this increase was in aid extended to dying open-country churches near the villages, many of whose members had already joined a church, usually of the same denomination, in the village. Thus the proportion of open-country churches aided rose from 10.4 to 16 percent. The ratio of aided churches in villages did not change. In the open-country, the average grant declined slightly from the 1924 level of $200; but in the villages the subsidy was increased from $350 to nearly $400, so that the average of $273 for all churches in the 140 village communities was about the same as at the earlier survey. However, because of the increased number of churches aided, considerably more money was being sent in from outside than at the time of the first survey, and this in spite of a decline of 1 percent a year in the number of churches in these communities.

Virtually half of these villages had in them some church that was receiving aid. In each of fifty places there was only one such church; but in thirty-seven of them this aid was keeping alive a church that was competing against an organization of similar polity, as Baptist against Disciple, Reformed against Lutheran, Methodist against Presbyterian, Evangelical against United Brethren, and the like.

In each of a score of other villages there were from two to three aided churches. It was quite noticeable that the larger grants were made to churches in the most competitive situations. Some of these grants exceeded $1,000. Thus in these villages where two or more churches were aided, the average grant was $421 per church, or almost $1,000 per village. In the places where only one church was assisted, the average grant was $374. If seven grants by one denomination, which has never joined the Federal Council of Churches nor subscribed to comity agreements, be deducted, the average becomes $271, or less than two-thirds the amount granted in the competitive situations. Furthermore, there was a higher proportion, 18.6 percent, of aided churches in small villages, which have been shown to have the most churches per 1,000 population, than in the medium or large villages where 15.0 percent and 13.6 percent, respectively, were receiving aid.

It was also noticeable that the great increase in grants had come in the states in which the national board executives have practically nothing to say about the policy of the state unit, since the states raise all the money they need within their borders and contribute to the national

costs as well. On the other hand the number of grants made directly by national boards in non-self-supporting states declined, and had measurably shifted from competitive to non-competitive projects such as larger parishes and allocated fields.

In two cases, however, state officials of one denomination prevented local congregations from joining federations with which the local members had voted to unite, by granting generous subsidies to their churches. In another instance, this same denomination, whose national officials are prominent in the coöperative movement, insisted that a grant made some years before be repaid with heavy interest by a proposed federation which its local congregation had voted to join. This prevented the federation; and all the churches concerned have since died.

The conclusion seems unavoidable that many of these minor units of Protestant denominations increasingly cooperate where there is no advantage gained, but are generous with their resources in competitive situations as long as their particular congregation is considered to have a chance to survive. To this generalization, true for the areas studied, one or two exceptions should be made which point in the other direction. The national assemblies of the Northern Presbyterian and the Congregational churches recently agreed to adjudicate all cases of competition on home-mission fields. Furthermore, a set of comity principles proposed by the Home Missions Council have been assented to by all the major denominations except the Baptist, Lutheran, and Protestant Episcopal. In time this may reduce competition among Protestant denominations.

Population and its changes seemed to play no part in the granting of home-mission aid: three-fifths of the villages receiving aid showed increases in population; only one showed very great increase. Two-fifths of the villages with aided churches had lost in population, none seriously. In one case only, was the aid granted because of drought or the general economic situation.[1]

Foreign-language Churches Require Special Considerations.—One phase of church relationships is obscured in the statistics on home-mission aid and the density of churches. This relates to the foreign-language churches. Almost one-fifth of the foreign-born are rural, and a considerable minority of these are of the Protestant faith. It should be remembered that in many cases ministers and priests of these groups came to the present location of their churches not to win people to their particular faith. In the vast majority of cases, they came to serve groups of their people who had already settled in these communities. In such places the people of a given religious tradition determine the denomination instead of the denomination determining the religious affiliation of the

[1] There are of course regional variations in the size of the average grant. These are given for the village communities in Appendix E. The differences in size between the average grant in the village communities and in the counties are very slight.

people. The idea of competition among churches may imply that ministers of various denominations go into a community and "sell" religion much as merchants sell goods. Hence denominations vie with one another for the favor and support of the people. For this reason, it is thought, there are competitive churches. There may be truth in this among the churches of English or American tradition.

In areas dominated by diverse nationality backgrounds, however, the resulting cultural heritages have to be taken into account. The Hollander is by inheritance Dutch Reformed; the Rhine German is German Reformed; the Saxon is Lutheran; the north German may be Lutheran or take to the Evangelical Synod of North America, which was a transplantation of Frederick William the Third's state church of Germany. In such cases language and social customs vary, and different denominational connections are the product of these determinative ethnic and social variations. The forefathers of one of these groups may have come to America in part because they opposed the union of the Lutheran and Reformed bodies in Europe. Communities with such heritages may change from one form of merchandise to another in a few weeks under the spur of a radio feature; but the transition from one denomination to another, especially where denominations represent different nationality groups, is not easily effected.[1] Furthermore, such churches are likely to be larger and stronger than the average rural church. Factors making for change are therefore the better resisted.

But, as was shown in the study of immigrant farmers, changes are coming. The present study confirms this. A large proportion of these churches now have English services. Many use only English. Besides, the changes from a foreign language to a bi-lingual program, or from bi-lingual to English, are more likely to be accomplished amicably and easily than formerly when it frequently produced conflict. As a result, a larger number of accessions, in some cases as high as 80 percent of the total, come from without the nationality stock that organized the church. Many of these accessions come through the intermarriage of foreign and native-stock young people. These churches of the foreign-born are becoming more and more American. Eventually they will be equally affected by local conditions and become equally competitive. But in many places, that time has not yet come; and meanwhile some of them are becoming, through the new type of accessions, relatively stronger than they were.

Evidence of Definite Coöperation.—The home-mission aid situation does not mean that coöperation among local churches has declined. Rather the reverse is true. In many places there was an increased trend toward local coöperation. There were many union enterprises, such as joint vacation Bible schools, teacher-training classes, young people's

[1] *Cf.* Brunner, *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1929), especially chapter vi.

societies, and the like. In a few villages where federations had failed, agreements had been worked out for the best use of buildings and personnel from a community point of view. Thus in one village, one church had been turned into a gymnasium, a second into a religious-education building and community hall, and the third was used for services of worship by all three groups at non-conflicting hours and with frequent union services. In another village where there had been sharp competition in 1924, the churches had come to a working arrangement. There were numerous joint enterprises under a local council; and the churches stood as a unit on matters of moral and social importance.

In the states where there were state Home Mission Councils or state Councils of Churches, a number of exchanges of fields were reported and several larger parishes had been organized. A number of communities in all regions, but especially in the South, reported increased interchurch attendance, and coöperation in money-raising efforts. Care was taken to avoid conflicts in special events; and in the South, even the arrangements for revival meetings were often affected. Here, too, the exchange of choirs was frequent. In two villages, this included having Negro choirs sing in white churches. It was also reported that proselytism had largely ceased.

Frequently also, local leaders affirmed that mutual understanding and good will between Protestants and Roman Catholics had increased, except where the 1928 Presidential campaign had produced antagonisms.

The economic depression increased the demand for union among some people, though only two new united churches were found in the 140 village communities. Seven were encountered in the 21 counties. In the Middle West, a number of villages with seven or eight churches each, including two or more of different Lutheran synods, it was a frequently expressed opinion that there should be one Lutheran church, one for other Protestants, and a Roman Catholic church. In a village near one included in this survey, this alignment had taken place. In several others, negotiations looking toward such an end were under way. This kind of discussion would have been impossible six years ago in most communities.

The natural course of events was reducing the number of churches in some localities. For example, the community with the most churches per population in 1924 had eighteen churches of nine denominations for 1,800 people, half of whom were non-members. Here, by 1930, a number of the open-country churches had been abandoned or united with the village representative, and there was increasing difficulty in supporting the thirteen survivors. One of these thirteen, however, was a new church. The local congregation of a prominent Protestant denomination had split over the issue of whether or not to purchase a piano. One faction desired it, the other held that "instrumental music was not spiritually healthy." The solution was the division of a church with fewer than 100 members into two churches with about forty each.

In the main, however, the trend in local communities was distinctly toward greater coöperation and tolerance; and this showed itself also in an increase in the number of county religious agencies embracing many denominations, such as County Federations of Young People's Societies and County Councils of Religious Education. In some cases these had one or more paid workers who were attempting to help the rural Sunday schools.

This review of the rural church situation, based on a study of 2,245 churches in every region of the United States, presents no clear-cut exposition of trends in any single direction. The last decade has seen both gains and losses. In the main, there is less local competition, though the competition through home-mission aids is more acute. There are more coöperative enterprises. Memberships have grown, but have not kept pace with population; so that the Protestant churches especially are reaching a smaller proportion of the population than formerly. Interest, measured by the proportion of inactive members and by attendance, has declined somewhat. Budgets are slightly larger; but because of large memberships rather than on account of increased per member giving. Pastors' salaries absorb a larger, benevolences a smaller, proportion of total expenditures. The church organizations and programs are probably more effective, and their contribution to the total life of the community is probably greater.

Chapter IX

SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

SOCIAL and recreational organizations include a wide range of activities. They are usually associations, formal or informal in character, designed to help individuals or groups secure more of the amenities and the enjoyments of life. They are not as formal nor as institutional as many of the organizations that have been considered in the earlier chapters; and, therefore, many of them respond more readily and more quickly to changing conditions. Their life cycle seems shorter. The interval between the field studies of identical communities was therefore of sufficient length for marked changes in their structure to have developed, and for the shifts in fashions and functions to be seen.

It is the purpose of this chapter to trace and to describe these changes. Record will also be made of the present situation respecting social organizations as found in many communities and of the ways in which rural people express through them their interests in recreation, sociability, civic improvement or cultural development. Social activities associated directly with business, education or religion, are discussed elsewhere.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS AND SIGNIFICANT CHANGES

As a first step, the various organizations found in the 140 communities were classified under the following ten types: athletic, civic, educational, fraternal, musical, patriotic, social, socio-economic, socio-religious, youth-serving. Such organizations frequently have more than one function and purpose, so that the categories for the types cannot be considered as absolutely rigid dividing lines.[1]

[1] For a discussion of the situation in the 140 communities as found in the 1924 study, *cf.* Brunner, Hughes and Patton. *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927) chapter vii. The classification given just above contains one new category, youth-serving. This addition made necessary a reclassification of the 1924 materials. The figures in the present chapter do not always agree, therefore, with those used in *American Agricultural Villages* as cited.

The following is a brief description of the types of organizations classified under each head:

Athletic: Baseball, basket-ball, tennis, golf, fishing clubs and the like.

Civic: Organizations designed for the good of the community, as W.C.T.U., charitable and welfare agencies or fire departments, when social organizations.

Educational: Parent Teachers' Associations, literary and study groups.

Fraternal: All lodges or secret orders of the fraternal type.

Musical: Bands, orchestras, glee-clubs, choral societies.

These organizations are exclusive of those under the direct auspices of the schools and churches.

Women's clubs were not classified in a single group, but were placed under the functional category best fitting their activities. In the earlier survey only nine types were employed. The growth of youth-serving agencies under other than religious auspices necessitated the use of this term as a new type. In the earlier survey socio-religious covered youth-serving organizations as well.

Change Marked by Instability.—The outstanding impression of changes in local social organizations is that of the instability of these agencies. Over 900, or about one-third (31.9 percent) of the organizations found in the 140 villages in 1924 had died or become inactive by 1930. On the other hand, nearly 900 new ones had been formed. Ninety-seven more had been reorganized. The birth-rate therefore was slightly higher than the death-rate for these social organizations.

This was not true, however, in every type of village. A declining population was associated with a death-rate that exceeded the birth-rate. Nineteen villages that lost 10 percent or more in population between 1920 and 1930, lost nearly two organizations in every five between the two surveys, and these were replaced by fewer new ones, so that there was a net loss of two organizations per village. On the other hand, the generalization of higher birth-rates than death-rates was true for villages that gained in population at a higher rate than the nation itself between 1920 and 1930, namely 16.1 percent.

Gains and losses were not, furthermore, equally distributed among all types of social organizations. The largest net loss was among the lodges, though this type is still the most numerous. The greatest gain, more than 100 percent, was among the youth-serving, an indication of the expanding service and growing popularity of the 4-H Club work of the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture. In fact, the small gain in the total number of social organizations was owing wholly to this increase among youth-serving agencies. Purely adult organizations declined 4.1 percent in number. All told, the number of social organizations in the 140 villages increased from 2,838 to 2,909 between the years 1924 and 1930, or from an average of 20.3 to 20.8 organizations for each

Patriotic: American Legion and its auxiliary, G.A.R., Sons of Veterans, D.A.R., W.R.C.

Social: Card clubs, community social clubs, and all other organizations chiefly sociable in purpose, regardless of other but more minor functions.

Socio-Economic: Farm Bureau, Grange, Home Demonstration groups, etc., all business men's organizations, and service or luncheon clubs.

Socio-Religious: Ministerial associations: social organizations under religious but not local parish auspices, the Young Men's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus and its women's organization.

Youth-Serving: All 4-H groups, Hi-Y and Pioneers, Boy and Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, and any others for children and young people except junior lodges.

village.[1] Table 106 sets forth in detail the changes in the number of organizations for each of the categories used, including the number dead or inactive, the number of new ones, and the average number of each type of organization per village.

TABLE 106.—CHANGES IN NUMBER OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY TYPE,—140 VILLAGES

Type of organization	Organizations in 1924		1924 to 1930		Organizations in 1930		Net change
	Total number	Av. per village	Inactive or dead	New or reorganized	Total number	Av. per village	
All types*	2,838	20.3	907	978	2,909	20.8	+ 71
Athletic	108	0.8	68	53	93	0.7	− 15
Civic	396	2.8	141	81	339*	2.4	− 57
Educational	172	1.2	72	83	177*	1.3	+ 5
Fraternal	958	6.8	190	69	837	6.0	−121
Musical	96	0.7	54	38	80	0.6	− 16
Patriotic	279	2.0	57	38	259*	1.8	− 20
Social	355	2.5	128	201	436*	3.1	+ 81
Socio-economic	271	1.9	99	136	304*	2.2	+ 33
Socio-religious	27	0.2	9	9	26*	0.2	− 1
Youth serving	176	1.2	89	270	358*	2.6	+182

* The total number of organizations here given for the 1924 survey is 123 less than the number given in Table LXIX, p. 207 of *American Agricultural Villages*. The difference is due to a more rigid classification, which eliminated from the computations for both periods organizations that no longer held meetings or made any contribution to the social life of the community. A large number of these were Red Cross locals. The organization had ceased to function, no meetings were held. The only activity was participation in the annual roll-call by a few interested individuals. A number of cemetary associations were also omitted.

Attention is also called to the fact that some organizations that continued to exist changed their activities and functions without reorganizing and were therefore reclassified. This accounts for what might seem like errors in some of the 1930 totals.

Birth-rates and Death-rates of Organizations Show Short Life Cycles.—Further measurements of change can be made by the comparisons of birth-rates and death-rates per 100 organizations and covering a ten-year period. It was possible to extend the time to 1920 by securing the date of organization or reorganization of each group at the time of the 1924 study. Table 107 makes this comparison, and also compares by types the proportion of existing organizations that had come into being or had been reorganized since the later survey with a similar computation covering the five years previous to the later survey.

This table reveals a number of interesting trends. The birth-rate of every type of social organization except the youth-serving, social and educational, was higher in the first half of the last decade than in the second. The rate at which new organizations are being formed seems to be slowing down in most groups. This does not indicate greater stability,

[1] These figures are exclusive of the Ku Klux Klan, which consistently refused all information during the 1924 study. Were the Klan included, the total number of social organizations would probably show no change, and the decline in adult agencies would be more marked.

TABLE 107.—BIRTH-RATE AND DEATH-RATE OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY TYPE,—140 VILLAGES

Type of organization	Rate per hundred			Points of net gain or loss 1924 to 1930
	1920 to 1924 Birth	1924 to 1930		
		Birth	Death	
All types	32.3	34.5	31.9	+ 2.6
Athletic	72.4	49.1	63.0	− 13.9
Civic	29.4	20.4	35.6	− 15.2
Educational	46.8	48.2	41.8	+ 6.4
Fraternal	8.8	7.2	19.8	− 12.6
Musical	62.1	39.6	56.2	− 16.6
Patriotic	24.3	13.6	20.4	− 6.8
Social	41.9	56.6	36.0	+ 20.6
Socio-economic	57.9	50.1	36.5	+ 13.6
Socio-religious	71.7	33.3	33.3	0.0
Youth-serving		153.4	50.6	+102.8

because high death-rates were responsible for a net loss of organizations in six of the ten types, the exceptions being the three mentioned above and the socio-economic. The increase in this last type is probably a reflection of two things, the economic depression which has stimulated the movement for working together among business men, and also the oversight or at least stimulation of many locals of the Farm Bureau by the county agents of the Extension service of the Department of Agriculture.

There are also apparently two causes for the high death-rate among athletic organizations combined with the small net loss. In the first place, as men grow older or young men move away, athletic organizations tend to break up or change their function. The younger men as they come along form new clubs. The increased interest in golf, in the second place, accounts for a number of new organizations. Even these are not a measurement of the growth in this sport, as some of the villages had municipal or commercial courses. Golf is now part of the recreational life in approximately one-fourth of the ninety-three villages of over 1,000 population included in the survey. In 1924 it was found in only six places.

The decline in civic organizations is not due to a loss in civic interest. Rather, concern about civic affairs seems to have increased; but with this increased interest has come a considerable growth in the number of organizations not primarily civic in character that are devoting some of their energies to work along civic lines. This is especially true of the service clubs and Chambers of Commerce. Thus there has been less demand for the all-inclusive type of civic organization.

With the introduction of motorized fire apparatus, and the tendency to keep one or two paid firemen always on duty, has come a decline in the

number of fire companies that were also social organizations classed as civic. Voluntary cemetery associations, many of which had large memberships, have given way to corporations.

Educational organizations have more than held their own, largely because of the relative stability and growth of Parent-Teachers' Associations, which are often promoted by the schools. They have a national organization, and in some states have strong state organizations that assist and promote local branches.

The considerable increase in purely social groups seems to be due to a vogue for this kind of activity in some villages. Despite the great increase in these organizations, the number of villages having them declined in all regions except the Middle Atlantic. The increase seems to have come largely in this region, in villages nearer than the average to cities, in some of which a few commuters had appeared; in villages that had near them recreational facilities, like lakes, which village and city people shared in summer; and, finally, in villages where social cleavages were more strongly marked.

Variations by Regions Greater than by Size of Village.—These changes in social organizations of all types have varied somewhat according to the region, but very little according to the size of village. Small and medium villages increased on the average slightly over, and large villages slightly less than, one-half an organization in the inter-survey period of 1924 to 1930. But the big increase came in the Middle Atlantic states, where it ranged from 2.4 organizations for the small to 6.3 for the large villages. The rate of increase in the South, slightly less than one, was almost twice the national average. In the Far West, the most highly organized, and probably overorganized, region, in 1924 there were sharp declines in the small and medium villages. The regional totals for villages of all sizes are to be found in Table 108.

TABLE 108.—CHANGES IN NUMBER OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Number of villages	Org. in 1924		Inactive or dead	New or reorganized	Org. in 1930		Net change
		Total number	Av. per village			Total number	Av. per village	
All regions	140	2,838	20.3	907	978	2,909	20.8	+0.5
Middle Atlantic	28	475	16.9	145	245	575	20.5	+3.6
South	30	319	10.6	102	127	344	11.5	+0.9
Middle West	60	1,392	23.2	444	436	1,384	23.1	−0.1
Far West	22	652	29.6	216	170	606	27.6	−2.0

It will be observed from this table that while all regions approached more closely to the average, as compared with 1924, the Far West still has the most organizations and the South the fewest.

Not only did the number of organizations vary according to the region, but changes in types did as well. The sharpest decline among athletic organizations was in the Far West, especially in villages of more than 1,000 population. The Middle Atlantic states showed a slight increase in this type. The net loss in civic organizations was almost exclusively in the Middle and Far West. Every region except the Far West, which showed a loss, increased the number of socio-economic organizations, the Middle West sharply. In educational groups, the gain is to be credited entirely to the Middle West; but this region had the lowest birth-rate and the highest death-rate for lodges among the regions. All, however, shared in the decline of lodges, though the fraternal orders came nearest to holding their own in the Middle Atlantic states where, along with the South, there were fewer such organizations than elsewhere. The tendency for fraternal organizations to decline in both numbers and in memberships, especially resident memberships, was found in many of the intensive studies of local communities or counties. Patriotic bodies declined everywhere except in the South, but chiefly in the Middle West. The sharp increase in youth-serving agencies was nation-wide; but the Middle Atlantic and the Middle West states divided equally two-thirds of this increase. The considerable gain in purely social organizations was also due to these two regions, especially to the villages of over 1,000 population. The net loss in musical organizations, on the other hand, was the result of declines in the two western regions which more than offset a gain in the Middle Atlantic states.

It is possible that this shift in the musical organizations is an illustration of the way in which fashions in social activities and organizations spread across the country. Many of the musical groups that ceased to function in the two western regions were the old type of choral or singing societies. In their place had come various musical organizations in the schools, which are not considered in this chapter except in connection with the extra-curricular activities of the schools. In the Middle Atlantic states, many of the new musical organizations were founded by younger people who had had earlier musical training in their schools. It would be interesting to see whether or not musical organizations outside schools increase again in the West after a few years.

To make further and more detailed comparisons possible, both by the four regions and by the three size-groups of villages, two more tables are introduced. The emphasis of comparison is also shifted from the organizations in terms of the average number per village, to the situation in the villages in terms of the number and types found in them. Table 109 presents the changes from 1924 to 1930 in the average number of social organizations by types in the various villages compared by regions, while Table 110 makes the comparison by sizes of villages.

TABLE 109.—VILLAGES HAVING EACH TYPE OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, BY REGIONS,—140 VILLAGES

Type of organization	Villages having organizations							
	Middle Atlantic		South		Middle West		Far West	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All types	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	1
Athletic	11	13	3	2	34	33	15	8
Civic	27	27	26	26	58	54	22	19
Educational	20	19	23	22	41	38	12	14
Fraternal	28	28	30	29	60	60	22	22
Musical	14	18	13	12	38	33	8	3
Patriotic	19	20	15	18	54	56	21	21
Social	16	17	15	13	45	46	20	16
Socio-economic	22	25	14	17	46	46	21	21
Socio-religious	2	4	1	1	16	15	1	1
Youth-serving	19	21	7	21	43	51	19	22

Number of villages: Middle Atlantic, 28; South, 30; Middle West, 60; Far West, 22.

TABLE 110.—VILLAGES HAVING EACH TYPE OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Type of organization	Villages having organizations									
	All villages				Small villages		Medium villages		Large villages	
	1924		1930		1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
All types	3	2.1	3	2.1	0	0	2	1	1	2
Athletic	63	45.0	56	40.0	15	15	31	26	17	15
Civic	133	95.0	126	90.0	43	40	56	53	34	33
Educational	96	68.6	93	66.4	27	27	39	38	30	28
Fraternal	140	100.0	139	99.3	47	46	58	58	35	35
Musical	73	52.1	66	47.1	18	18	32	30	23	18
Patriotic	109	77.8	115	82.1	27	31	52	51	30	33
Social	96	68.6	92	65.7	27	27	43	41	26	24
Socio-economic	103	73.6	109	77.8	28	29	45	48	30	32
Socio-religious	20	14.3	21	15.0	3	6	9	7	8	8
Youth-serving	88	62.8	115	82.1	30	33	40	50	18	32

Number of villages: Total, 140; small, 47; medium, 58; large, 35.

It will be seen from the tables that not all types of organizations are to be found in each village. Furthermore, the high mortality of social organizations often removes one type from a community, even from large villages, although most villages have a considerable majority of the several types. The tables also indicate, as would be expected, that the probability of any given type of organization being in a village varies

directly with the population of the village. The tables also emphasize the lessening hold of adult organizations as compared with those that serve youth, which was discussed earlier in the chapter. Increases in Middle Atlantic organizations have come in part through more villages having more types of organizations.

Country and Village Relations in Social Organizations.—Social organizations have heretofore been considered as though they belong to the whole community made up of both country and village people. In reality they do, for there were few organizations that were exclusively for either the country or the village people. Even such organizations as the Grange or the Farm Bureau, though designed for farmers and their families, often meet in villages and village people belong. The more strictly sociable groups and organizations are more likely to have strongholds either in country neighborhoods or within village boundaries; but even here kinship, friendship, and the greater mobility of both groups frequently cause them to draw from the whole community area.

Little Change in Country Memberships, Variations Are by Types.—The increased patronage of village social organizations by people from the surrounding country areas is not as marked statistically as the reiterated testimony of villagers would lead one to expect. The proportion of country members in all village organizations changed only from 33.5 percent to 35.6 percent.[1] But, as sometimes happens, total figures here conceal significant trends. The small change in the proportion of country members in these village organizations represents anything but a static situation. It is the result of a number of sharp declines and a number of sharp increases, according to the types of organization. The proportion of country members in village lodges, civic and social organizations declined. The last named are peculiarly small, local groups like card clubs and sewing clubs. The sharp increase in this type of organization naturally reduced the proportion of country members in the grand total of all social organizations.

Table 111 gives the proportions of country people in the various types of organizations, showing the comparisons by the four geographic regions.

There were changes of from 8 to 33 percent in the proportion of country members in all other groups except the economic. Here a static ratio is the product of a very large increase in the Middle West and a sharp decrease in the South, the other two regions showing little change. More than half, 51.8 percent, of the members of socio-economic organizations in the village communities of the Middle West are now country people, whereas in 1924 the proportion was only 35.5 percent.

[1] It is interesting to note that in a study of ten Michigan villages made in 1929, 34.5 percent of the membership in, and 33.7 percent of the attendance at the meetings of village social organizations were from the country. *Cf.* Hoffer and Canwood, *Services of Institutions and Organizations in Town and Country Communities* (East Lansing; Michigan State College, 1930), Bulletin 208.

TABLE 111.—PROPORTION OF MEMBERS FROM THE COUNTRY IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY REGION, AND BY TYPE,—140 VILLAGES

Type of organization	All regions		Middle Atlantic		South		Middle West		Far West	
	1924 Percent	1930 Percent	1924 Percent	1930 Percent	1924 Percent	1930 Percent	1924 Percent	1930 Percent	1924 Percent	1930 Percent
All types	33.5	35.6	35.8	34.9	31.9	25.9	31.0	31.7	37.6	36.7
Athletic	23.5	27.3	32.1	40.4	....	....	18.7	15.9	22.5	29.7
Civic	20.9	17.7	12.1	10.9	15.8	11.0	25.0	20.2	27.0	26.4
Educational	18.6	24.8	16.4	20.5	10.9	12.0	21.4	28.9	23.6	26.9
Fraternal	34.4	32.4	34.2	30.2	35.3	29.0	33.6	32.4	36.4	36.5
Musical	14.4	21.6	10.4	15.6	17.1	13.5	12.5	24.1	25.7	57.1
Patriotic	30.3	33.2	22.7	27.0	17.9	22.9	32.0	33.8	39.0	44.1
Social	30.0	25.4	13.8	25.7	1.8	1.9	27.7	24.1	41.2	33.1
Socio-economic	62.1	61.2	80.5	75.1	75.1	47.9	35.5	51.8	58.7	45.9
Socio-religious	52.0	54.0	50.0	38.0	28.1	25.0	52.8	61.8	50.0	29.4
Youth-serving	23.8	30.7	19.2	30.3	19.3	25.2	21.3	30.5	30.6	33.8

The increase of country interest in village athletic, musical, patriotic and youth-serving groups shows that the open-country people are sharing in special interests with the villages and coming into more intimate and friendly contact with them, as was noted in the chapter on village-country relations. The increased country enrollment in educational organizations, largely Parent-Teachers' Associations, is a natural corrollary of the increased use of the village schools by country people.

Considered separately, those social organizations designed particularly for country people located in open-country areas of the village communities, like the Farm Bureau, Grange, and Farmers' Union, increased from 130 to 160, an increase due chiefly to a rise from 34 to 67 in the Middle West. This region and the Middle Atlantic averaged slightly more than one such organization for each community; and the Far West, two. There were very few in the South. The average membership per organization dropped from 79 to 71. The variations in membership among the regions were due largely to the different types of organizations. Granges (45 in 1924, 54 in 1930) decreased about 10 percent in average membership between the surveys. Since the decrease occurred largely in the Middle Atlantic and the Far West—all but three in 1924 and five in 1930 being in those two regions—the average membership for all the farmers' organizations dropped there and in the total for all regions. In the South and the Middle West, a few additional Farm Bureaus and Farmers' Unions of large membership overbalanced the numerous Home Bureau, Home Economics, etc. groups with memberships usually less than thirty, which accounted for the increase in average membership in these regions. Table 112 gives the number and average memberships of the organizations.

TABLE 112.—MEMBERSHIP IN FARMERS' ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS,* BY REGIONS,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Number of organizations		Average membership	
	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	130	160	79	71
Middle Atlantic	37	41	163	130
South	12	7	38	80
Middle West	34	67	30	42
Far West	47	45	56	49

* Grange, Farm Bureau, Farm Union, Gleaners, Farm Club, Home Bureau, and Home Economic groups.

Country Organizations Show Variation by the Size of Locality.—To study at somewhat closer range and in more detail, as well as to cover a longer period of time, the situation in the 21 counties, both in 1920 and 1930, was analyzed. A tabulation was made for these counties of the number of social organizations in the open-country areas. Field workers had secured the name of every recognized neighborhood, hamlet or locality and the total population associated with each such area. For the three smallest groups of localities, having less than 250, from 250 to 500, and from 500 to 1,000, *total* population, including both center and country, was used. Some of these areas had no center, many only a cross-roads center with fewer than 50 people. Even in the largest of the three groups, the centers were seldom more than hamlets, averaging only a little more than 200 in population. Barely 5 percent of the centers of these 222 localities were incorporated. It is believed that they are reasonably representative of the situation in regard to organized social groups in open-country areas. Table 113 gives the results of the analysis.

It was found that the number of such social organizations varied with the size of the population. The smallest places averaged one, the next largest, two, and the largest, three organizations each. It is interesting to observe that the frequency of organizations followed the same trend as in the villages. There were most organizations in the Far West and fewest in the South, in which region half were accounted for by the Agricultural Extension service. Of the ten types found in the village communities, four—fraternal, youth-serving, educational, and economic—accounted for about four-fifths of all the organizations, as against 57 percent for these four in the villages. Youth-serving, almost exclusively 4-H Clubs, were the most numerous in every size-group, comprising about one-third of the total. Together with the locals of the farm bureaus, these government inspired and assisted groups accounted for well over two-fifths of all organizations found. As compared with 1920, these were the only groups to show an increase; and this increase, as in the case of the 140 agricultural communities, is considerable.

TABLE 113.—SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN HAMLETS AND SMALL VILLAGES OF 21 COUNTIES, IN 1930, BY REGION AND BY TYPE

Community population and region	Number of localities	Type of organization					
		All types	Fraternal	Educational	Youth-serving	Socio-economic	All others
Grand total	222	462	112	51	148	47	104
Under 250							
Total	65	54	6	5	13	11	19
New England and Middle Atlantic	16	22	2	0	6	6	8
South	29	9	1	3	1	1	3
Middle West	2	1	0	0	1	0	0
Far West	18	22	3	2	5	4	8
250 to 500							
Total	71	149	35	16	53	12	33
New England and Middle Atlantic	17	39	8	2	9	5	15
South	32	75	16	9	38	1	11
Middle West	10	22	10	4	4	2	2
Far West	12	13	1	1	2	4	5
500 to 1,000							
Total	86	259	71	30	82	24	52
New England and Middle Atlantic	17	58	19	3	19	7	10
South	24	59	9	8	28	2	12
Middle West	33	75	25	14	21	4	11
Far West	12	67	18	5	14	11	19

In the smallest size-group of localities, the incidence of no organization was great. Many in this group had none, their organized social life centering in nearby villages. Lodges were found in half of the second-smallest group of places, and in most of the localities with from 500 to 1,000 population. It was noticeable that the places in the two smaller population groups were served far better in counties with a low density of population than they were in others, even by the Agricultural Extension agencies.

When a tabulation for these counties was made for localities of 1,000 to 1,500 population, it was found that all of them had definite centers averaging more than 600 in population; that most of these centers were incorporated; and that social organization was very much of the pattern described earlier in the chapter for small villages.

These comparisons, as well as those made just previously for the 140 communities, show that the average number of social organizations in agricultural villages is stabilizing at slightly more than twenty, and that mortality rates increase as the number increases above this figure; though, of course, it varies somewhat according to the size of the village, as has been shown. They reveal a considerable increase in interest in social organizations in the Middle Atlantic states, in which area the villages are most open to urban influences. They indicate that organizations with some overhead connection, or some attention from salaried personnel like

the Farm and Home Bureaus, the 4-H Clubs, and the Parent-Teachers' Associations, are most likely not only to survive but also to multiply. They prove that on the whole these voluntary, special-interest social groupings are far more unstable than the other more formally organized social interests such as education, religion and trade.

REASONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS FOR THE RISE AND DECLINE OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Instability and a short life cycle seem to be characteristics of social organizations in both open-country localities and the village communities. This indication prompts a further inquiry into some of the apparent reasons for the rise and decline of these organizations and points to the appropriateness of a few illustrations regarding the way in which such organizations carry on within the life of a local community. The reasons for the instability that has been noted fall into three main classes.

Many Organizations with Little Plan or Leadership.—By very nature, many social organizations are not highly formalized or integrated; nor is leadership permanent or professional in character. All this may be of an advantage when considered from the standpoint of easy readjustments or changes; but it does become a reason for instability. There are, therefore, many lacks respecting purpose, program and leadership. These are reasons within the life and plan of the organizations themselves. Many groups were organized to attain some definite objectives. When these were achieved, the groups were left with little or nothing to do. No new ideas captured the imagination of the members. Interest lagged. Death came, often without the formality of a funeral. Again, others were started on the basis that it would be a good idea to get together for something or other, often at the suggestion of some speaker at a luncheon or meeting of a woman's club. But having got together, the program was too vague, or not locally compelling enough, to command a sufficient time-investment from the members to sustain the life of the group. Finally, some organizations were dependent upon the enthusiasm and direction of some one leader who was often responsible for calling them into being. If this leader lost interest or moved away, the groups often disintegrated.

Competition of Organizations and Conflicts in Community Causes of Mortality.—A second group of reasons for decline, and sometimes for the rise of social organization, is the element of competition, or the results of conflict and division within the community. Places near cities found it harder to maintain their organized social life than those farther away—except to some degree in the Middle Atlantic states. In such places, especially if the connection with the city by means of a hard-surfaced road was relatively recent, the number of organizations and the interest, attendance, and activities of the surviving ones were all declining. The experi-

ence of the Middle Atlantic villages may indicate, however, that this is a passing phenomenon.

Another aspect of the competitive situation concerned the overorganization of the village. The multiplicity of organizations had made the social structure unwieldy. As one leader put it, "There are so many organizations here there'd be no time for anything else if all were properly supported, so none are well attended."

In a small Middle West village, twenty-four organizations, exclusive of church and school groups, were found with a total membership of about one and one-half times the population twelve years of age and over; but the average attendance for each meeting was only twelve. Several leaders here said the community would be better off with fewer organizations and that more were cutting down on their attendance. No organization was willing to drop out voluntarily; and the working out of the reduction that is the logical sequence of the reiterative plaint, "There are entirely too many organizations in this community," may be a painful process. Sometimes in such a community, one or two organizations win out over all others and become the dominant ones. Thus, in time, reduction is automatically accomplished.

There has also been a growth of informal recreation and social life, and to some extent an increase in opportunity for recreation under municipal auspices; both resulting in activities that take time from other local organization activities.

Again, sharp conflicts within a community, from whatever cause and however mainfested, usually sound the death-knell of a number of social organizations. The most dramatic collapse of a social organization within the inter-survey period, due to all these causes and several others too well known to need discussion, was that of the Ku Klux Klan. It was present in at least 40 villages in 1924. Though field workers in those years believed its influence to be on the wane, it was a powerful force in most of the communities. It had split churches, organizations and communities, and controlled the policies of town councils and boards of education.[1] In 1930, only one Klan organization was found, and that one was dormant. The conflict most common of all was the break-up into a few cliques, one of which claimed, and might perhaps be secretly granted, superiority, followed by a disturbance of the rough working adjustment of the cliques with one another if the superior group became too high-handed in its leadership in community affairs. Social cleavages confined to the purely social life, however, caused no conflicts in the communities studied in the inter-survey period. As one leader of the "other" class in a village of 800 population put it: "There are two classes here, the really high class and

[1] *Cf.* Hoffer and Canwood, *Services of Institutions and Organizations in Town and Country Communities*, (E. Lansing, Mich., Michigan State College, 1930), Bulletin 208, pp. 194–195.

the other class. If you are not in the first, well you're in the second; and that's all there is to it."

Closely akin to this rather frequently-found situation were cliques, and sometimes cleavages, resulting from movements of population. Representative of such situations, a few of which were found in every region, is this from one Eastern village that had added an industry to its agricultural service. Up to a few years before the first survey, the leaders were "natives" and "blue bloods" and proud of it. It was their wish never to see a dinner-pail in the streets of their village. They looked down, and still do, upon farmers and mill workers alike.

Just before the first survey, a second group of potential leaders began to come in. They were younger, industrially-minded, urban-trained. They were democratic and ready to share in the social life of the village. They were not afraid of dinner-pails.

Shortly before the 1930 survey, a small number of wealthy people from the nearest large city discovered this beautiful village nestled around a cove at the head of a lake. They erected houses and moved in, becoming a third group. They let it be felt that the aristocracy of the "native" group was as nothing beside their own. They kept aloof from local affairs and retained their social life in the city, except for what they had among themselves and for their summer parties to which the most aristocratic of the natives of group one were eligible and which they eagerly attended.

Left thus to its own devices the second group has gradually replaced the original, native group on the school board, in the town council, and in the offices of the churches and important social organizations. Their strength was not disclosed until they put across a fine new school building for a consolidated school district despite the old-timers who felt that "Our school should be kept only for those from our own village—uncontaminated by pupils drawn from the countryside."

Here the transition in power was made without much of a struggle; and the second group will be dominant in the community life for some years. It is giving multiplying evidences of its progressive leadership.

Nationality or racial cleavages accounted for a very few situations of conflict or supressed bitterness. In one or two places, the Norwegian group was arrayed against the others; resulting in a price-war in the stores, strained village and country relations, and religious antagonisms. In the South there was, of course, the familiar Negro situation. In one extreme case, out of 700 adult Negroes there were only three registered voters.

Politics disturbed a few places. Thus in one prosperous Southern county-seat town, the ministers came out in favor of Hoover in the 1928 campaign. They were promptly threatened with the loss of their jobs; whereat the two hotels offered them free board and room if they should lose them. The incident, and several somewhat similar ones, threatened to have serious community results; but the trouble died down quickly after

the election. Local and county politics caused no difficulties, save where they were results of other causes.

The familiar difficulties between the retired-farmer element and other villagers were also fewer in number than at the time of the former survey of these communities. In fact, only two cases of serious conflict of this sort were found. In one, the retired farmers had defeated for five successive times a bond issue for a new school that the village had been ordered to erect by the state board of education. In the other, the recall was successfully used on a city council that had voted a $75,000 sewer project. This issue split the entire community, the business and social organizations, and even the churches and schools.

Difficulties between leading families sometimes had disastrous results when they were carried into the community life. In one of the few villages so afflicted, the baseball team disbanded and its park is unused. The movie theatre and hotel owned by one faction were forced into bankruptcy by the bank owned by the other; the band, Boy and Girl Scouts, and commercial organizations lapsed. There was a big decrease in the membership of other community-wide organizations, and the famous Old-Home Week was discontinued.

Illustration of Quick Change in Types.—This catalog of the causes of organizational mortality can be illustrated in terms of a typical situation. In one small Western Pennsylvania village with a considerable and well-defined rural hinterland, eight of the eleven organizations died; but almost as many new ones were born. The change was from the fellowship of social and fraternal groups to those of a civic, educational, and youth-serving character. The aims, therefore, were less selfishly social, in the sense of offering entertainment, and were more socially constructive. The present membership includes a larger proportion of country people. There had been, however, an increase in visiting, and in informal evenings of cards, by groups of friends. It was said that the radio was partly responsible for the swing away from purely social organizations. The new and surviving organizations united in a number of worthwhile projects. A band and a county baseball league had been organized, as well as an annual county field-day. An interest in local history developed and the state historical commission was persuaded to mark the site of an old fort in a memorable day's exercises.

One of the battles of the Civil War had been fought in this community, and in 1929 it was decided in future to mark the graves of the Confederate as well as of the Union dead. State officers of the United Daughters of the Confederacy were invited to the first of such ceremonies, and the county turned out for the occasion. It was also decided to commemorate the World War veterans of the community. On the diamond-shaped plot by the Court House the natural mountain stone took its bronze marker. Below the building, at the foot of the green, is a rockery of native stone,

shrubbery and hedge, raised to an attractive elevation. A second look shows that it is in effect an outdoor stage, with wings and exits indicated in the shrubbery. Here is a nook that for beauty, record and symbol is indeed noteworthy. But this was a community project; and here on Sunday evenings for the summer months, the town gathers in a united worship period.

Many Cases of Successful Social Organizations.—The instability of many of these organizations must not blind one to the fact that many of them, as in the case just described, do endure and make valuable contributions to the communities of which they are a part. Among the apparent reasons for the success of such organizations was their excellent leadership and their programs which met recognized community needs, and inspired confidence and goodwill.

Accomplishments of a Southern Civics Club.—The record of the women's civic club in one Southern village of about 1,100 population is interesting in this connection. Among its accomplishments in the inter-survey period are included the following:

1. Arranged and paid for the landscaping of the high-school grounds.
2. Gave a new curtain for the stage of the high-school auditorium.
3. Promoted an annual clean-up week.
4. Arranged for the writing and publishing of a history of the community at a cost of $500.
5. Secured a teacher for subnormal children and contributed $200 a year toward the salary.
6. Contributed books and money to the town and the high-school libraries.
7. Gave several free community entertainments each year.
8. Held two community dances each year.
9. Gave $1,500, or half the cost, for converting an old school building into a community house.

This club, which has been in existence less than four years, is credited by all leaders with having greatly improved the social life and organization of the village. Its achievements are a good sample of what progressive women's clubs are doing in a number of these villages.

An Illustration of Coöperation.—In one large Southern village, in 1930 as in 1924, six organizations look after the social needs of the community quite completely and have continued the coöperation worked out prior to 1924. Each organization knows what the other is doing and is willing to assist at any time. In fact, it is understood that each organization would support the ventures of the others. All the organizations united in an effort to establish a Red Cross chapter in the county. When the women's club building was being paid for, the wife of the city clerk and Secretary of Kiwanis was made financial chairman. The clerk said:

The Kiwanis club didn't pay directly for the women's building, but it did indirectly. I printed letters for the women's club, which were sent out to friends and to the merchants and their friends. All contributed merchandise which was sold at an immense sale. From that one venture, the women's club took in over $1,000. It was the Kiwanis merchants who contributed a large share of the stock.

The Chautauqua is planned by a committee which is composed of a member from the women's club, one from the Parent-Teachers' Association, one from the Kiwanis and one from the American Legion. This year each of these organizations put on one program to take care of any deficit in 1930 to relieve the guarantors.

The recently built community hall houses many school and community activities, and has provided the young people with some place to go. Organizations in the village do not die when one or two leaders move away or die, for usually there are others to quickly take their places.

The Case of a Serviceable Luncheon Club.—Factors of increasing social and numerical importance in villages are the so-called service or luncheon clubs. Whatever they may mean in urban centers, these agencies in rural America are in part responsible for the improvement in village-country relations described in Chapter IV; for the strengthening of the economic structure of the community; for much local charity; and for the introduction of a number of social utilities. They have supported Boy and Girl Scouts; contributed to 4-H Clubs and agricultural extension; secured community parks, playgrounds, community houses, and swimming pools; assisted under-privileged children; and carried on many types of social service. They are the resort of all those with new ideas to sell, especially of the various county and state organizations that work with local people.

One of the most interesting of these organizations was a Rotary Club in an Eastern county-seat village of about 1,800 population.[1] In 1924, and for many years before, this village had been controlled socially and politically by a highly conservative group of "first families" that had successfully prevented any progressive moves, even to defeating a much-needed new school, though 90 percent of the cost was to have been a donation from a wealthy citizen of the state. The announced reason was, "That when any municipality stoops so low as to accept the largesse of a private citizen it has denied American democracy and sold its own soul."

Perhaps this was right, for democracy asserted itself shortly afterward in this village. A Rotary Club was formed and, as a result of its activities, the 1930 re-survey found the community with a new "soul." Only one of the old group of leaders, a recent candidate for the United States Senate, was still in authority; and his tenure of office was highly uncertain.

[1] The 1924 survey of this village was written up as a case-study under the title of Jefferson, *Cf.* Brunner, *Village Communities* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927) Part II, chapter viii.

The membership of the club, totalling sixteen, was made up largely of business men who had succeeded to their fathers' business concerns, and some representatives of the professions, especially a school man and a clergyman. The club had organized a Chamber of Commerce in coöperation with which it conducted an economic survey of the community. Merchandising had been greatly improved, trade areas definitely enlarged; and loyalty to the community developed among villagers and countrymen. In coöperation with the Women's Club, the Rotary assumed definite responsibility for social service. Several state clinics were brought in. One case of neglect of an indigent parent by a local mechanic, which came to a head during the 1930 survey, was handled excellently at two successive meetings with breath-taking efficiency. The steps taken involved granting emergency aid, interviewing the man and his employer, looking up the law in the case, and notifying the community nurse and local poor commissioners to investigate. At a meeting a week later, reports were received and a satisfactory solution was reached.

This, of course, would be a commonplace procedure in urban social work; but in this village a voluntary association of business and professional men successfully applied social case-work principles to a rural situation without outside guidance and as a matter of course. A number of similar situations in other villages could be described. This is relatively a new thing in rural America.

Politically, the club quickly set about changing the composition of the borough council and school board. Progressive men and women were installed, and new policies began to make themselves felt all along the line.

It was announced that a state organization would coöperate with some one rural public-school system in an experiment and demonstration in progressive educational methods as applied to the elementary and grammar-school grades. The Rotary club secured the award of this enterprize for its community; and with little difficulty persuaded the community to bond itself for a new school at a cost to it of nearly four times what accepting the previous offer would have meant.

This incident illustrates how great social changes can occur, even in a seemingly helpless situation, given leadership; and how broad the civic and social interests of these so-called "service" groups can be. In its achievements, this club outranked any other studied; in its ideals and interests, it was fairly representative.

The new spirit in the community spread to other organizations. The Women's Club erected a fine club-house in which the community library was most attractively housed, and coöperated with a state agency in by far the most extensive program of adult education found in any village in either survey, involving nearly 1,000 people annually.[1]

[1] For a more detailed description of the routine activities of the various types of social organizations, see Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927), pp. 197–198.

These tendencies of rapid rise and decline, or the elements of instability already noted and illustrated, have been observed in the conclusions of numerous other studies of local situations. For example, in a study of a New York village and its surrounding territory, the years between 1905 and 1930 were characterized as a period of shifting for social and recreational organizations.[1]

The distinctive traits belonging to these years, the report suggests, are the increase in means of communication and transportation, growing percentage of residents in the older age-groups, the increasing control of the social and recreational activities by institutions and organizations of more than local character, the coming of the moving picture and the disappearance of the traveling trouper, and finally the coming into greater prominence of the high school as a local promoter of wholesome entertainment and recreational programs.

CHANGES WITHIN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In the light of these data it is important to examine next the changes that have occurred in the support of these organizations as measured by their membership, attendance, finances, and buildings owned or used.

Membership Has Decreased.—All told, the 2,909 social organizations in these villages have approximately 180,000 members, or about 4,000 fewer than in 1924. During the same time, the population of these communities increased 5.5 percent. It is apparent, therefore, that social organizations, like the churches, failed, numerically at least, to hold their own. Apparently the same tendencies that led to the high mortality rates among such groups affected also the support that the survivors received. For all organizations, the average membership declined from 64.8 persons to 61.9, or 4 percent, as Table 114 indicates.

TABLE 114.—MEMBERSHIP IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY TYPE,—140 VILLAGES

Type of organization	Number of organizations		Average membership	
	1924	1930	1924	1930
All types	2,838	2,909	65	62
Athletic	108	93	40	38
Civic	396	339	75	65
Educational	172	177	57	70
Fraternal	958	837	93	97
Musical	96	80	24	26
Patriotic	279	259	43	49
Social	355	436	26	26
Socio-economic	271	304	74	59
Socio-religious	27	26	85	66
Youth-serving	176	358	25	26

[1] Melvin, Bruce. *Sociology of a Village and Surrounding Territory* (Ithaca, Cornell University Agricultural Experimental Station, 1931), Bulletin 523.

The average membership in athletic, musical and youth-serving groups remained virtually stationary, the first decreasing and the other two increasing by one or two members each. In civic, economic, and socio-religious agencies, the membership declined rather sharply. The decline in the civic groups resulted from the demise of a number of large and inclusive agencies, especially cemetery associations and Red Cross locals that had become ineffective; and to a less extent a similar statement applies to the economic groups, the average membership of which was also brought down by the smaller memberships of a number of new organizations. Most of the loss in the civic organizations was in the Middle Atlantic states. The membership decreased only slightly in the South and the Middle West, and gained in the Far West. The economic group showed losses in all regions, especially sharp in the South and in the medium villages.

Gains in average membership were registered in the educational, fraternal and patriotic groups. In the case of the first named, the gains were in villages of all sizes and in all four regions, the Middle Atlantic leading. The slight gains in average membership among the fraternal orders in all regions, in spite of the heavy loss in the total number of such organizations, is due to the fact that the stronger lodges survived.

It is interesting to observe the effect of rapid change in population on social organizations. In the nineteen villages that between 1920 and 1930 declined 10 percent or more in population, membership in social organizations dropped in almost the exact ratio of the population decline, 16.7 percent. The twenty-seven villages that exceeded the national rate of population increase, 16.1 percent, and which indeed in the aggregate more than doubled that rate, nevertheless lost 3.7 percent in the membership of their social organizations. Newcomers apparently were not quickly enlisted.

This shows again when the number of social organizations for each thousand persons in the community is considered. For the village with increasing population, this was 4.9. For the village communities with decreasing population, it was 6.2. Apparently there is a lag in both directions. Organizations in decreasing villages apparently hold on to life with some degree of tenacity.

It seems probable that the factor of distance from an urban center also affected the number of social organizations per 1,000 population. Village communities less than twenty-five miles from small cities of from 10,000 to 25,000 population had 4.7 organizations for each 1,000 of population, as against 5.7 in those communities that were from 25 to 50 miles from such a center. Towns of from 2,500 to 10,000 seemed to exert a similar influence, except in the Middle West. When the nearest city center was over 25,000, no consistent influence was noted, as Appendix F shows.

The membership distribution between the sexes changed very little. The proportion of males and females in the total membership of each

group of organizations is given in Table 115. The decline in the proportion of males in the civic group is due almost exclusively to the Far West. The decline in fraternal orders is apparently greater among men than women, especially in the two western regions. The proportion of women in purely social groups increased, despite a very marked increase of men in the Middle Atlantic villages. Apart from these differences, the few changes shown by the table were rather evenly distributed among the regions.

TABLE 115.—PROPORTION OF MALES AND FEMALES IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY TYPE,—140 VILLAGES

Type of organization	Percent males		Percent females	
	1924	1930	1924	1930
All types	61.7	58.1	38.3	41.9
Athletic	93.9	92.5	6.1	7.5
Civic	44.1	35.0	55.9	65.0
Educational	27.1	27.1	72.9	72.9
Fraternal	70.8	67.7	29.2	32.3
Musical	77.7	75.7	22.3	24.3
Patriotic	48.2	54.3	51.8	45.7
Social	34.0	28.2	66.0	71.8
Socio-economic	75.1	69.2	24.9	30.8
Socio-religious	68.6	71.0	31.4	29.0
Youth-serving	60.6	61.6	39.4	38.4

Attendance Has Increased.—The percentage of the membership in attendance at the meetings of social organizations increased slightly for all groups except the fraternal and patriotic, but especially among the civic and, except in the Middle Atlantic region, the economic.

This improvement in attendance in the face of the loss in membership and the decline in the total number of adult organizations is significant, and probably indicates that the stronger surviving organizations are meeting the social needs of the people more satisfactorily than was the case at the time of the first survey. Table 116 gives the comparisons by type of organization. The percentage of the membership that attended organization meetings rose from 35.6 percent to 37.4 percent; not a large gain nor a high rate of attendance. The range was from 23.9 percent for the fraternal organizations to 76.0 percent for the youth-serving group.

Finances Have Declined.—The cost of these social organizations to their memberships declined both in gross totals and in per capita. In 1924 these organized groups spent nearly a million dollars,[1] $944,255 to be exact, or $5.13 per member. In 1930 the total figure was just about $823,000, or $4.57 per member. This decline in terms of totals disguises

[1] Owing to the absence of responsible officers, field workers were not able to secure complete data on all organizations. This figure is estimated on the basis of data from a high proportion of all organizations.

some interesting increases. The sharpest per capita declines came in the small villages and, to a less extent, the medium. In the large villages, seven of the ten groups show increases; and only the educational registers a significant loss, doubtless because with large memberships there were more persons to raise the budget. The per capita expenses of economic groups increased markedly everywhere except in the Middle Atlantic states, where there was such a drastic decline that the total for all regions shows a loss. Probably the increase in the more rural regions is an index of the great interest in the economic phase of life in the depression year of 1930, and also a reflection of the enlarged program of many of the economic organizations. This increase was compensated for by reducing expenses in other types of organizations.

Rapidly growing and declining villages behaved differently also in the matter of financing these social organizations. Per capita contributions in those places that declined 10 percent or more between 1920 and 1930 dropped 26.6 percent to $3.44, more than $1 below the average. Organizational support per member in growing centers gained 7 percent to $5.82 which, conversely, was more than $1 above the average for all villages.

TABLE 116.—ATTENDANCE, PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES, AND BUILDINGS OWNED BY SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY TYPE,—140 VILLAGES

Type of organization	Percent of attendance		Per capita expenditures		Buildings owned	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All types	35.6	37.4	$ 5.13	$ 4.57	293	303
Athletic	53.7	59.7	12.95	12.98	3	3
Civic	37.4	44.4	4.60	5.12	34	31
Educational	54.1	57.7	2.11	1.17	2	1
Fraternal	24.0	23.9	4.43	3.84	138	192
Musical	81.1	81.4	18.61	14.18	0	2
Patriotic	40.3	35.4	6.90	5.82	25	28
Social	73.4	74.0	3.30	4.28	5	7
Socio-economic	43.7	44.1	8.04	7.36	27	32
Socio-religious	32.6	34.9	4.84	4.63	6	1
Youth-serving	73.9	76.0	1.81	2.18	3	6

In the 43 communities out of the total 140 in which tenancy was increasing, there was a tendency for the number, as well as the memberships, of social organizations to decrease between 1924 and 1930; and the proportion of country members likewise decreased. There was a slight inclination for the per capita expenditures to increase, probably because of decreasing memberships and because the ratio of attendance remained almost constant. The 26 communities where tenancy was decreasing exhibited tendencies of just the opposite character. In neither the communities of increasing or decreasing tenancy rates were the changes in social organizations sharply marked.

However, as Appendix F shows in detail, both the per member support of social organizations and the number of such organizations per 1,000 population varied directly with the per capita retail sales in the stores of the village.

Buildings Owned or Used Increase.—More than one-tenth of the social organizations had their own quarters. Sixty-three percent of these were lodge halls; but of the gross increase of thirty buildings, barely one-third belonged to lodges. The number of buildings owned by the organizations is shown in Table 116.

Except for a few Grange halls, or for a few cabins, "shacks" or camps owned by youth-serving agencies, most of the organizations use community buildings. Most of the 101 non-lodge buildings had been erected since 1920, and represented, all told, an investment of about a million dollars, exceeding the value of the lodge buildings. In addition, some villages had municipal or township community houses; and many schools were used for modern community programs. Frequently private organizations coöperated with public in securing such buildings. All told, there were very few villages that did not have to a greater or less extent the facilities that are usually associated with the term community house. This represents a distinct rise in the community standard of living since 1920.

One village, for instance, purchased and converted its former hotel into a community house with the aid of a $5,000 contribution which the Home Bureau had saved up for nearly a decade. The total cost of $10,000 represented about two-thirds of the actual value of the building and the improvements made. The balance was locally contributed. The structure is a three-story affair. It houses the fire truck, and there are quarters for the Home Bureau, 4-H Clubs, Boy and Girl Scouts, the American Legion and its Auxiliary, the village library, and several of the lodges. There is an ample and well-equipped kitchen, a large dining-room, a spacious living-room and assembly, and a public rest room, much used by country people. The organizations pay no rent as the building is municipal; but for dances or money-making events, a nominal fee is charged to cover expenses. An organization, to get the use of the building for such an occasion, applies to the village clerk who goes to the mayor for sanction. The clerk is constable. He says, "If any rough stuff starts at a dance or any event, we ask the party to leave. If someone comes in with liquor on his breath, out he goes."

In all, fifteen new community houses had been built since 1924, many of them owned by the municipality. Four communities reported new swimming pools; six, new playgrounds; two, new bathing beaches: and most of these acquisitions were municipally owned. Thus the social organizations have had building and equipment facilities for their use greatly increased.

COUNTY-WIDE ORGANIZATIONS, A NEW DEVELOPMENT

The discussion thus far has omitted mention of county-wide social agencies. Of these there has been a great development in the last decade, especially among official or semi-official agencies such as county health units, and county library systems. There are also many other agencies and associations organized on a county basis. Some are simply federations of locals. In others, the county body is the important body even though it may work through locals, as with the County Y.M.C.A. In the main, the increase in tax-supported agencies was not shared by the unofficial group.[1] This was distinctly so in the twenty-one counties. In these there were 120 such agencies. The range was from none to fifteen; but the average county had six. Thirty kinds of county organizations were found. The two counties that led in the number of county organizations were in New York and California. The agencies found follow:

A New York County	A California County
*Health Unit	*Health Unit
*Farm Bureau	*Farm Bureau
*Home Bureau	*Home Bureau
*4-H	*4-H
*Council of Religious Education	Sunday-school Association
Red Cross	*Welfare League
*Boy Scouts	*Y.M.C.A.
*Girl Scouts	*Boy Scouts
Chamber of Commerce	*Chamber of Commerce
W.C.T.U.	Federation of Women's Clubs
*Library	Parent-Teachers' Association
Grange	*Coöperative Marketing Ass'ns (2)
*Dairymen's League	*Library
Coöperative Marketing Ass'ns (2)	

* Has paid personnel.

It will be noted that a majority of these agencies, usually the tax supported or economic ones, had paid workers. In the entire group of counties, one-half enjoyed this advantage. The budgets per organization ranged from $2,700 to $50,000. Budget per full-time paid worker ranged from $2,883 to $50,000. Where the same organizations had existed throughout the inter-survey period 1920–1930, it was found that budgets had increased slightly, especially in health and public-welfare agencies.

These county organizations were not only fairly well supported financially, but they had large memberships. In the counties not entirely rural, 31.7 percent of this membership was rural.

County agencies have apparently come to stay. Even in the East they are beginning to give the county greater significance. Many of these county agencies were found operating in the villages studied; and some

[1] This statement is based as much on the study of the twenty-one counties as on the records of such agencies. An attempt was made to secure records from national headquarters in a number of cases; but in important agencies data were not comparable.

village organizations were little more than independent locals of county agencies. Typical of the situation outside the South is this list of county agencies operating in a single eastern village of 800 population.

Boy Scouts (2)
Calf Club
Girl Scouts
D.A.R.
Granges (4)
Red Cross
Junior Mechanics
Juvenile Grange
I.O.O.F.
F.A.M.

However, there are many counties too poor, or with too low a population density, to make county organizations practical; and regardless of the trend to use the county as an administrative or supervisory unit for such work as is represented by these agencies, it must be recognized that social needs cannot be so met in perhaps two-fifths of the counties in the United States.

MORE INFORMAL AND LESS COMMERCIAL RECREATION

One of the noticeable trends in rural social life as already noted was the increase in informal recreation. In a number of places it was said that the tone of social life was set by informal groups rather than, as formerly, by organizations. In some respects the people seemed to be returning to recreations comparable to those in the household farmer days in America. In part, modern tendencies were responsible. The community houses, playgrounds, quoits grounds, and swimming pools, whether under municipal or organizational auspices, were attracting a considerable time-investment from all age-groups and sex groups.

Beyond such things, there were the special interest groups, often in former neighborhoods, and in the village as well, each enlisting those attracted by the particular objective of the group. Such are the classes in scores of subjects from music and art to auto mechanics that enlist thousands of persons annually in rural Delaware; the little theatre groups in North Dakota, North Carolina, Colorado, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, and other states; and hundreds of similar enterprises that have sprung up especially with the last half decade in thousands of hamlets and villages.

The following list of social events in a village of 940 population is typical of what was culled from the weekly newspaper in almost every place that was surveyed. The list for this village included among other things, home-talent plays, waffle suppers, chicken-pie suppers, oyster suppers, family reunions, family parties, poverty socials, good-time socials, doll parties, chain parties, house parties, lawn parties, bridge parties and luncheons, line parties, box socials, basket dinners, picnics,

ice-cream socials, swimming parties, turkey shoots, rook parties, old-fiddler contests, croquet and tennis tournaments and parties.

Not all of this non-organizational recreation was informal, especially in the Middle Atlantic states. In a few places, especially the larger ones, the practice of having formal parties in the hotel was growing. In one village during the period of survey, there were two such parties, costing, according to the proprietor, nearly $100 each. Another with sixty guests had cost $130.

An increase in taking automobile rides was reported; and, in general, village and country people spent more time playing in the open. Many now have camps at nearby lakes and ponds, or along rivers; and there were some instances of a general commuting movement daily from such places to the village. Even when camps were not actually erected, the greatly increased use of natural recreational facilities was indicated by the number of diving boards, boats or canoes along streams and at small local ponds. One of the writers has also observed this along the course of several rivers that he frequently canoes. This tendency was in part responsible for the lack of support that caused many villages to drop their summer Chautauqua, just as the popularity of the radio was charged with the loss of a number of lyceum courses and winter Chautauquas.

Many other indications were encountered that social life is not naturally centered exclusively in organizations, and that the social forces playing upon the community are not simply matters of local contacts. These elements are not measurable by statistical technique; but they are of great significance. They were noted by virtually all field workers, especially by those who visited the same communities in both 1924 and 1930.

Some of these influences are fairly clear. One of them is the radio. Stepping out on a hotel porch one spring evening, a field worker heard the familiar accents of Amos and Andy coming from six different directions across the beautiful village square on which the hotel fronted. In 1924 there had been but two radios in this village of 1,800 persons. In 1930 there was one in the home of every other white family. The radio has broadened the interests of rural people, affected daily conversation and habits of buying; and was frequently reported to have made for more nights at home.

Another influence is the motor car. Many villages reported an increase in touring, at least until the industrial depression checked the mild revival that had got under way in rural American in 1928–29. This machine has greatly multiplied the frequency of urban contacts, and the frequency of recreational trips not only to nearby rivers or lakes, especially in summer, but quite as much of more extended vacation trips.

Of about 6,500 readers of the Woman's World who answered questions mailed by the magazine, 59 percent replied that they were planning to

take a vacation in 1930; and 49 percent of those living on farms made the same reply. The percentages rose, too, somewhat with size of the community up to 64 percent, when the residences given were in cities of 5,000 population and over. Those living on farms reported that the automobile would be used for the trip in 87 percent of the cases. For those living in places of 5,000 or more population, about 75 percent of those replying indicated that the automobile would be used as the means of transportation for the vacation.

On the other hand, the use of local agencies for commercial recreation had declined. There were fewer poolrooms, and a few of these were primarily speakeasies. Moving-picture theatres were also fewer; and the decline in attendance reported in 1924 had continued. Such theatres were found in 112 of the villages, as against 120 in 1924. Only four places had two theatres. The total number declined from 127 to 116. Several more were about to be given up. All told, in the inter-survey period, eighteen theatres were closed and seven new ones opened. The greatest losses took place in the Middle Atlantic states where the mortality was one-third. Sixty theatres, or 51.7 percent, changed to talkies; and among these were almost the only ones to report increased attendance.[1] There were several instances of rather beautiful moving-picture houses that were showing the best pictures and drawing patronage from wide areas, including surrounding villages. The change to talkies was made in two-thirds of the Far-Western, and in half of the Middle Western villages, but in only about one-third of the communities in the other two regions. This decline in village movies is partly attributable to the radio, partly to urban competition. In almost all the villages that had no moving-picture house, and in a few that had, announcements of coming pictures in nearby towns or cities were carried in the local newspapers or displayed at some central place in the village.

One of the most marked changes was the great increase in the number of places that permitted Sunday-evening shows; something found in only a few places in the previous survey, and these largely in the Far West. This increase in Sunday showings was much more marked in the two western areas than elsewhere. Indeed it was not found in the South at all. The Sunday-evening shows were well attended, and were deplored by few. In a few places they were not begun until after church services were over; and in general they do not seem to have greatly affected Sunday-evening church attendance. In only a few places had their introduction caused sharp or lasting conflict.

This review of the social life in agricultural village communities has shown a tendency for the number and membership of adult organizations to decline slowly, but for those serving youth to increase. The most highly

[1] The high cost of installing apparatus for talking pictures doubtless explains why small theaters did not make the change.

organized area from the adult point of view experienced the greatest decline; but organizations with economic, educational or social objectives were more numerous and stronger. In terms of programs and activities, the change has been from hedonistic and lodge groups to those more socialized in character. Few of these villages lacked a community house or community-serving features in the school plant. County-wide organizations, most of them with a paid executive, have made a place for themselves; but informal recreation and social life have increased.

The agricultural depression, as noted in the earlier discussion, has affected adversely the social life and the organizations of some villages.

In the main, however, just as the surviving social organizations seemed stronger and more socially useful in 1930 than in 1924, so there seemed to be a better spirit and fewer conflicts in these 140 villages. Perhaps the wider programs of the more important social organizations have helped to account for this. It was frequently reported that social cleavages disappeared when the community grew interested in a big enterprise. The complete passing of the Ku Klux Klan also took a disruptive force out of these communities. The policy of the service clubs, bringing the various business and professional men into frequent contact and emphasizing community betterment, probably also helped, as did the great improvement in relations between villager and farmer. Finally, from a considerable number of villages came the report that class distinctions were breaking down. All in all, it seems that social life in American agricultural villages was on a distinctly higher and more wholesome plane in 1930 than in 1924.

Chapter X

RURAL SOCIAL SERVICES

IN ADDITION to the services rendered to rural people by such long-accepted agencies as the school and the church, and by agencies constructed by rural people themselves to satisfy their own needs for social intercourse, there is a group of services, some performed by organizations, some by individuals, that are concerned with helping and keeping people out of trouble. Poverty, ill-health and a wide variety of individual and social difficulties and maladjustments come within the scope of this field of activity.

It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss some of these social services for rural people, and the changes that are taking place in the programs and personnel involved in meeting the problems alluded to. The discussion will turn first to activities usually included in the term "social service." It will then set forth the efforts to develop a public-health service for rural people, and finally will attempt to throw some light on the adequacy of the medical service available to rural people through physicians, dentists and nurses.

SOCIAL SERVICE

The years since the World War have seen increased demand on the part of rural people for social services somewhat similar to those at the disposal of urban people. In turn, there has been a realization of rural needs by national welfare agencies and official state agencies. It has been realized that urban social-service techniques could not be applied and adapted to rural America, that the degree of specialization to which urban social work has been carried was economically impossible and perhaps socially undesirable for rural people. Experience has shown also that the unit of administration and service, in the average case, had to be something larger than the single municipality such as the township or village. The last decade has also brought a clearer understanding of the problems involved in the oganization of social services for rural people.

A few agencies, such as the State Charities Aid Association of New York and the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, had been engaged in rural social work for many years; but it was the American Red Cross, with its home service to the families of soldiers in rural communities, that first came to grips with the problem of rural social service in a national way. In many places its assistance was later extended to civilians.

The experience of the Red Cross, the concern of national and state welfare agencies and leaders, and the awakened interest of rural people themselves, among other influences, have been responsible, largely within the last fifteen years, for the enactment of legislation creating state departments of public welfare or similar agencies in twenty-two states, a number of which have created county units for the administration of social case-work programs.

Some of these departments are rather weak, a few are quite strong; but this movement, unless stopped by the depression, represents a distinct trend. The formation of similar state agencies in six or eight more states was being actively agitated in 1931. Some of them, as in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Alabama, are organized as Child Welfare agencies with organized county units under their administration.

In a few states, the extension divisions of colleges of agriculture, through the home-demonstration agents, have assumed some responsibility for the development of rural social work. Here and there also, county programs have been developed along modern lines on the initiative of local groups including both private citizens and public officials. The administration of the mothers' pensions has also brought knowledge and appreciation of modern social-work technique to many rural people.

The whole trend evidenced in these developments has been to make of rural social work something more efficient and desirable than the traditional county poor farm. The trend is away from institutional relief toward efforts to build normal life and reasonable adjustments to society.

The demand for service to rural communities has been rapidly increasing. State and national agencies and universities have been endeavoring to meet these demands by giving assistance and advice in regard to problems of organization and methods of social case-work, and by finding and training workers. However, agencies and universities alike are finding that the demand, and the efforts to meet the demand, are increasing faster than knowledge as to the best procedure to be followed and the best types of organization to be set up, and faster than properly equipped individuals are becoming available for this service. Many questions of policy and practice in this connection are being encountered that require study of a kind not possible for those engaged in the exacting daily duties of the service.[1]

Village Social Service Lags.—Social service as conducted by small rural municipalities, even agricultural villages, is as yet but little affected by these trends, save where it is integrated with a state or county organ-

[1] *Cf. Scope and Method of Research Relating to Rural Social Work.* (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1932) 106 pp., prepared by a subcommittee of the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture of the Social Science Research Council, under the immediate editorship of Miss Josephine Brown and the general editorship of John D. Black.

ization that brings local leaders into contact with professional social workers.

The wisdom of conducting social service on the basis of units larger than the township or village can be seen from an examination of what the 140 villages spend for this item. Fifty-five villages had so few social-service activities in 1930 that no amount under this head was separately listed in their municipal budgets. The activities they conducted, if any, were included under the caption "General" or "Miscellaneous Expenses." As 94 of the 140 villages had classed their social-service expenses, if any, in this way in 1924, there was a net gain of thirty-nine in the number of villages whose social-welfare activities increased sufficiently to win a separate place in the budget. But with 55 of the 140 making no separate budget entry for social service, it seems clear that such services have not been wholly accepted as municipal activities. The small amounts spent by the villages that do account separately for outlays for these purposes reinforce this conclusion. Social-service expenses fell under three general heads, education and recreation, health and sanitation, and care of the poor and aged.[1]

All told, the eighty-five villages for which records were obtainable disbursed $160,559 for social-welfare work in 1929–30, or $1,889 per village; $1.30 per capita. Three-fifths of this went for education and recreation, chiefly to libraries and bands; more than one-fourth for health and sanitation; and one-eighth for care of the poor and aged. From all accounts, the 1931–32 fiscal year was destined to see a decrease in appropriations under the first head, and a considerable increase under the last as, especially in the Middle West, calls for charity from the aged and poor were greatly increasing and the burden was exceeding the resources of the private agencies, largely churches, lodges, women's and luncheon clubs, which in these villages were accustomed to take care of the charity cases. A few of these local organizations were doing rather good work.[2] In one village of the Middle West there was a well-organized community charity council and chest in which all interested organizations coöperated efficiently, including the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. The expenses of such agencies are in addition to the municipal appropriations here discussed.

For the 46 villages that budgeted social-welfare activities for both 1924 and 1930, the per capita expense under the head of social service increased from $1.04 to $1.50 between 1924 and 1930. The bulk of this increase came in expense for health and sanitation and, in eight villages, in care for the poor. In these eight, costs increased under the last-named head from 41 to 90 cents per capita. Eleven additional villages that did

[1] It was not possible to separate education and recreation. For instance, some villages made an appropriation to the school band.

[2] *Cf.* chapter ix.

TABLE 117.—AMOUNT PER CAPITA AND AVERAGE BUDGET FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AND ITS DIVISIONS IN VILLAGES THAT REPORT HAVING THE SERVICE, 1930, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Total social service			Education and recreation			Health and sanitation			Care of poor and aged		
	No. villages	Average budget	Per cap.	No. villages	Average budget	Per cap.	No. villages	Average budget	Per cap.	No. villages	Average budget	Per cap.
All regions	85	$1,889	$1.30	67	$1,443	$ .93	64	$ 686	$.46	19	$1,055	$.69
Middle Atlantic	22	1,083	.89	14	780	.56	20	594	.48	3	344	.50
South	5	252	.18	3	73	.05	2	211	.15	2	309	.21
Middle West	39	2,127	1.49	32	1,644	1.08	25	479	.33	14	1,313	.77
Far West	19	2,765	1.57	18	1,833	1.03	17	1,150	.62	0	0	0
Small villages	19	653	.85	10	685	.93	14	322	.41	4	263	.36
Medium villages	42	1,205	.96	34	916	.73	31	440	.35	9	649	.49
Large villages	24	4,064	1.75	23	2,552	1.09	19	1,351	.58	6	2,191	.94

not extend such aid in 1924 were budgeting it in 1930. Health activities increased from 27 to 46 cents per capita in 31 villages; and in 41, education and recreation took $1.09 as against $0.87 in 1924. Social-welfare expenses were highest in the two western regions and in the large villages.

It was not possible to discover how much private agencies spent for charity; but the sum was probably at least as large as the total municipal expenditures for all social-welfare activities, and was said to be larger in 1930 than in 1924.

Social-service activities, it is apparent, while more important than in 1924, do not bulk very large in the activities of agricultural villages. They receive a minimum of support from the municipality and proportionately an even smaller allotment from the treasuries of churches and other organizations. With a number of notable exceptions, actual charity dispensed is given with none too much supervision, and there is often overlapping of effort. On the other hand, in the main, local people coöperate well with county-wide agencies under professional leadership where it exists; and the present trend to organize rural social welfare in country or district units would seem the best procedure, in these counties that are sufficiently large and wealthy to enable such work to be well handled. Otherwise it would appear necessary for counties to combine for activities of this kind.

RURAL PUBLIC HEALTH

Trend toward County Organization.—One of the most important fields of general social welfare is health; and the organized public-health movement in rural America has made real progress in the last few years.

One of the best indications of this is to be found in the increase in counties, or in a few cases groups of counties, that have adopted the county health-unit organization. The average county unit employs a health officer, a sanitary inspector, one or more nurses, and a bacteriologist, all under the direction of a physician. The services of this unit are available to communities and physicians. Increasing warfare is waged on disease, actual and potential.

One of the more prosperous of the 21 counties studied employed a staff of thirty-eight persons, twenty-three of them nurses, fourteen of whom worked exclusively in the schools. This personnel served a small county seat city, two towns and a rural area of nearly 800 square miles. Clinics of many kinds were conducted, including some on mental hygiene. Innoculation against smallpox, scarlet fever and diphtheria was stressed. School children were given medical inspection; and they and the community at large were educated in public and personal hygiene. With variations as to scope and numbers employed, this represents the type of program put on. Not all programs, of course, can be nearly as elaborate. The minimum essential is a full-time employed and professional health officer. The results of work of this kind have been measured again and again in lowered death-rate for infants and mothers, and for incidence and mortality of various types of preventable diseases.[1]

The South has seen a greater increase in county health units than any other region. More than four-fifths of all new county organizations between 1927 and 1931 were in this region. This is partly because of the greater number of subsidies received from such agencies as the Rockefeller and other foundations, the American Red Cross and several other private or semi-private agencies. In 1932, 162, or almost 43 percent, of the southern county health units were receiving subventions. Elsewhere exactly one-fourth were aided. There have been gains, however, in all regions, as Table 118 shows.

TABLE 118.—COUNTIES IN THE UNITED STATES WITH FULL-TIME HEALTH OFFICERS, AND NET INCREASE OR DECREASE, BY REGIONS

Region	1922	1927	1932	Increase	
				1922–1927	1927–32
All regions	202	337	615	115	278
New England and Middle Atlantic	11	8	17	−3	9
South	119	212	415	93	239
Middle West	52	75	98	23	23
Far West	20	42	49	22	7

Source: U.S. Public Health Service.

[1] It cannot be claimed, of course, that all this improvement resulted from county health units, but counties with such organizations have made much greater progress than comparable counties without them.

Proximity to the city seems to have some influence upon the likelihood of a county having a full-time health officer or a health unit. Seventy-three, or 21 percent, of the 347 counties included in the study of the effect of distance from cities, which is discussed in Chapter V, had health work organized on a county basis, a slightly higher proportion than for the nation as a whole. The tendency for the counties nearer to the city to possess health organization is to be seen in Table 119. The suburban influence may in part account for this situation. Conversely, city counties, largely because the cities have their own health departments, do not make a good record with respect to county health units.

TABLE 119.—PROPORTION OF COUNTIES SURROUNDING 18 CITIES HAVING FULL-TIME HEALTH OFFICERS IN 1930, TIERS OF COUNTIES

Tier*	Number of counties	Counties having health service		Percent counties by tiers
		No.	Percent	
Total tiers	347	73	21.0	100.0
City county	19	9	47.4	12.3
1	97	24	24.7	32.9
2	106	16	15.1	21.9
3	70	15	21.4	20.5
4	33	4	12.1	5.5
5–8	22	5	22.8	6.9

Source: U. S. Public Health Service.
* Base less than 100 in all but Tier 2.

Public Health Nurses Increase.—The public nurse is of very great importance in the public-health program. The national organization for Public Health Nursing undertook in 1924, and again in 1931, a census of public nurses other than those employed by specific industries. The total number of such nurses increased from 11,171 to 15,865 in this period, or from 10 to 13 per 100,000 population. Only the barest preliminary results are available at this writing, and they do not include a division of these nurses according to type of territory served, *i.e.* urban or rural. It is noticeable, however, that in Nebraska and both the Dakotas, as in two of the Mountain states, the number of nurses, both actually and in proportion to the population, declined. In the other more rural states, the increases barely kept pace with the gain in population. In the South, however, a better record was made, probably in part a reflection of the great gain in county health units.

Public Health in Villages.—Within the 140 villages there was also some improvement in the conduct of public health. The number of public-health nurses increased, though slightly, from eighty-two to eighty-six in the inter-survey period. Nine more villages, twenty-one in all, employed nurses. The rest were assigned to these communities by

county health units. Of these nurses, about one-sixth in each period were devoted entirely to the schools.

Eighty-three villages, as against sixty-three in 1924, had boards of health. Most of the increase came in the South where the county type of organization has had the greatest growth. On the other hand, there was a great falling off in the number of health officers, almost always part-time officials, drawing several hundred dollars a year. Only twenty-six villages, as against eighty in 1924, had such an official. This decline took place in all regions, though chiefly in the two western ones. In part it was due to the demand for economy. The duties of the health officers, which in many of these villages consisted merely of putting up quarantine signs and keeping vital statistics, were assigned to the mayor, or the town clerk; and the offices were abolished. In two cases, township and village combined to use the same health officer; and in twenty-three, an employed and professional county officer rendered service.

As already noted, it is difficult for the rural community, and even for the rural county, to support the highly specialized social-welfare and public health organization of the city. As a result, any worker has to become a jack-of-all-social-service-trades. A typical illustration of how the health nurse acts also as a social-service worker was found in a Middle Atlantic village which employs a public nurse. In addition to her regular program, all applications for charity clear through her; and she appeals to one organization or another to care for any given case of need that arises. This extends even to the distribution of the Christmas dinners supplied by the lodges, and of the clothing for the destitute.

PHYSICIANS

Back of all health work is the physician. Of late years, the medical and farm press have frequently noted the decline in the number of rural doctors. In 1924 a study by the General Education Board now, part of the Rockefeller Foundation,[1] noted that between 1906 and 1923 there had been a steady decline in the proportion of physicians to population in places of less than 2,500 population. The 1924 field survey of the Institute of Social and Religious Research of the 140 villages communities showed the same result, and suggested further than it was the older doctors who were remaining in the rural areas.[2]

Rapid Decline in Number of Physicians.—This trend seems to have continued. To discover whether or not physicians were continuing to leave rural communities, an analysis was made of four states (New York,

[1] Mayers, Lewis and Harrison, L. V., *The Distribution of Physicians in the United States* (General Education Board of New York, 1924).

[2] Brunner, Hughes, Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927), chapter viii, on this and other aspects of the public health situation in villages in 1924.

South Carolina, Iowa, and Washington) from the excellent records of the American Medical Association which lists the location and age of each member, for the years 1920 and 1930. These states, in each period, together contained one-eighth of the total rural population. In these states the rural population had increased 5.3 percent in this decade; but the number of doctors had declined 20.9 percent in the villages and 28.3 percent in the hamlets and open country. The decline for all rural territory was practically 22 percent. Even in New York and Washington, where the growth of the rural population exceeded 10 percent, the number of physicians declined by one-sixth. The rate of the decline was little affected by the size of the villages. It ranged from 19.4 percent in the large villages to 23.2 percent in the medium-sized group.

It was felt that the growth of villages into the urban classification might account for some of this loss.[1] The number of physicians in towns of 2,500 to 5,000 and of 5,000 to 10,000 was therefore also tabulated. In the former group, the loss was about 6 per cent. In the latter, there was almost no change. In Iowa and South Carolina, the number of doctors did not increase until cities of over 25,000 were reached. In Washington, the increase came when the 10,000 mark was passed. New York, with its many suburban towns, showed increases with the 5,000 to 10,000 population group.

An interesting trend was noted in the two most rural of the four sample states, Iowa and South Carolina. In them the number of physicians in the entire state declined more than one-eighth. The decline in rural doctors, however, was more than twice as rapid. These facts and others are summarized in Tables 120 and 121.

TABLE 120.—RURAL PHYSICIANS IN FOUR STATES; AND PERCENT OF GAIN OR LOSS IN RURAL POPULATION, IN RURAL PHYSICIANS, AND IN ALL PHYSICIANS IN THOSE STATES

State	Rural physicians						Percent gain or loss 1920–1930				
	Total		Village		Country		Rural pop.	Rural physicians			All physicians
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930		Total	Village	Country	
All 4 states	4,407	3,443	3,849	3,043	558	400	+ 5.3	−21.9	−20.9	−28.3	+ 1.2
New York	1,769	1,481	1,578	1,301	191	180	+15.1	−19.4	−17.6	− 5.8	+10.9*
South Carolina	675	463	530	371	145	92	− 1.6	−31.4	−30.0	−36.5	−11.3
Iowa	1,591	1,165	1,416	1,084	175	81	− 2.4	−26.7	−30.6	−53.7	−14.0
Washington	372	324	325	287	47	37	+11.7	−14.8	−11.7	−21.3†	+ 5.1

Source: *American Medical Directory, 1920* and *American Medical Directory, 1930* (Chicago, American Medical Association, 1920 and 1930).

* Excluding New York City.

† Base less than 100.

[1] See chapter iii.

TABLE 121.—PHYSICIANS IN VILLAGES AND TOWNS IN FOUR STATES, BY SIZE OF PLACE

State	Villages						Towns of			
	Small		Medium		Large		2,500 to 5,000		5,000 to 10,000	
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
All 4 states	2,150	1,713	1,070	821	629	507	1,229	1,156	772	765
New York	845	722	465	366	268	213	566	550	293	419
South Carolina	267	171	111	97	152	101	144	125	134	136
Iowa	873	661	381	261	162	162	424	379	266	172
Washington	165	159	113	97	47	31	95	102	79	38*

* Three of the seven places in this size group in 1920 were in excess of 10,000 population in 1930.

Naturally, therefore, the number of persons to each physician has been increasing. Taking the population living in all places of less than 10,000 population and in the open country, the number of persons to each physician similarly located was 1,014 in 1920 and 1,368 in 1930, as Table 122 shows.

TABLE 122.—POPULATION PER PHYSICIAN IN FOUR STATES

State	1920	1930
All 4 states	1,014	1,368
New York	937	1,347
South Carolina	1,584	2,063
Iowa	789	1,022
Washington	1,309	1,662

It will be noted also from this table that the number of persons to each physician was higher in a more recently settled rural state like Washington, and in a state like South Carolina with its many Negroes, than in the other commonwealths selected for comparison.

Agricultural Villages Also Lose Doctors.—It is possible to sharpen the outline of this picture considerably when the 140 villages and their communities are considered.

The number of physicians in these communities declined from 504 to 424, or 15.8 percent, a rate somewhat lower than that obtained in the four states studied. The rate of decline was rather uniform, as Table 123 shows.[1] The actual loss was even greater, since under 1930 census procedure certain non-medical practitioners such as osteopaths, chiropractors and others, were included as physicians, whereas in 1920 they were not. There was no way of correcting for this change.

It must be remembered, however, that during the census period the population of these communities increased. The decline in the adequacy

[1] In the 177 villages for which census data were obtained, of which the 140 covered by field surveys are a part, the decline in physicians was from 676 to 570.

TABLE 123.—PHYSICIANS, NUMBER AND RATE OF DECREASE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Number of physicians		Rate of decrease
	1920	1930	Percent
All regions	504	424	15.8
Middle Atlantic	100	84	16.0
South	132	110	16.6
Middle West	196	165	15.8
Far West	76	65	14.5

of the service from a purely quantitative point of view was therefore even greater. This is clear when the number of physicians to each 1,000 population in the total community is compared for the two census periods, as given in Table 124.

TABLE 124.—PHYSICIANS PER 1,000 COMMUNITY POPULATION, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	1920	1930
All regions	1.2	0.9
Middle Atlantic	1.2	1.1
South	1.2	0.7
Middle West	1.1	0.9
Far West	1.2	0.8

Reasons for the Downward Trend.—The reasons for this exodus of physicians from the country have often been recounted. In brief, they concern the shortage of clinical, laboratory, hospital and other professional facilities; the supposed lack of economic returns as compared with the city, owing in part to increased use of city specialists and hospitals by rural people; the long hours and arduous work involved in caring for people spread over a large area, with the attendant reduction in time available for study; and, in some areas, the supposed lack of educational and cultural advantages for the physician's family.

Remedies Inadequate.—Various methods have been proposed in the last decade to meet this situation. Some rural communities employ a physician on a guaranteed salary. In one or two states they are allowed to raise the salary by taxation. This system has been carried further in the province of Saskatchewan, Canada, than anywhere else on this continent.[1] Hospital facilities are being provided in some states on a county basis; in a few states, assisted by taxation. Four county hospitals have been erected and in part subsidized in the South by the Commonwealth Fund in the hope that they may serve as demonstrations. In other

[1] *Cf. The Municipal Doctor System in Saskatchewan* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1932).

places, groups of physicians have erected their own hospitals; and the doctors in a few of the 140 villages claimed that such a procedure solved some of their problems. In one Middle West village, the hospital greatly increased the volume of business, 60 percent of which came from outside the village. In one southern state, there is a movement to grant scholarships to medical students who will offer to serve in rural communities for a term of years following their graduation and interneship. A number of states' boards of health perform certain laboratory facilities on request from local doctors. With the exception of the last item, however, progress along these lines has been very slow in comparison with the need. No one of them, save the extension of laboratory facilities, may be considered a definite trend.

Physicians Are Older.—Not only were there fewer doctors in rural areas in 1930 than in 1920, but the doctors who were there were older than city physicians and older than in 1920. In the four states, the median age decreased as the population of the community increased. Thus in New York state, doctors in the country and in small villages averaged 10 years older, and those in medium and large villages more than eight years older than the physicians in cities of over 100,000 population. In Iowa, the differences were from four to ten years, in Washington, from two to six years. In New York, the average age of the rural physicians increased, that of the urban decreased. In the other states, for most types of communities, the average age of physicians increased, but rural increase was greater than the urban. In all four states, the average age of the physicians in all types of communities from those under 250 population to large villages, and in some states in the towns as well, was above the median age of the doctors of the state. Moreover, when the youngest fourth of the physicians in rural and urban territory are compared, the same tendencies hold. In the most extreme case, in Iowan places of under 250 population, the average of the youngest fourth of the doctors, which was 38 years in 1920, had risen to 50 years in 1930; whereas in the cities of Iowa it was under 40 years. The full details of these comparisons are to be found in Table 125 and Appendix F.

Obviously the younger physician with the more modern training is seeking the city. He has there the advantage of laboratories, hospitals, and other facilities he has been trained to use; advantages too often denied him in the country. If he acquires any reputation, he will probably attract rural people to his office. Meanwhile he is spared the rigors of a rural practice.

These age-distributions for doctors are important also from the point of view of public health. Many physicians of middle or past middle age are not helpful, neither advocating nor practicing modern methods of proven value; and the first and perhaps most important step in public health is the education of the people in a way that will cause them to

TABLE 125.—MEDIAN AGES OF PHYSICIANS IN FOUR STATES, BY SIZE OF PLACE

Size of place	New York*		South Carolina		Iowa		Washington	
	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931
Total state	46.4	45.3	41.6	48.7	45.9	50.9	44.7	49.7
Under 250	62.0	65.8	44.8	53.3	45.0	57.7	50.7	54.6
250 to 1,000	61.4	63.5	42.2	48.2	46.2	53.0	47.8	53.5
1,000 to 1,750	60.6	62.7	44.2	50.3	47.2	51.5	45.7	52.3
1,750 to 2,500	58.2	62.2	41.7	47.3	48.5	53.8	44.6	50.4
2,500 to 5,000	58.6	59.2	42.6	45.1	47.2	53.9	45.7	46.9
5,000 to 10,000	59.6	58.7	42.2	46.9	47.8	49.8	42.7	46.9
10,000 to 25,000	56.9	57.4	40.3	44.3	47.2	50.6	44.0	46.3
25,000 to 50,000	56.2	56.6	41.6	43.6	44.7	48.7	46.4	50.7
50,000 to 100,000	53.0	54.7	36.3	42.7	43.5	49.2	46.9	....
100,000 and over	53.9	53.3	....	....	43.9	47.7	44.0	48.2

* Excluding New York City.

demand the things to which they are entitled. This does not apply to the professional leaders who are in the very fore-front; but the large army is not prone to follow promptly.

For instance in diphtheria campaigns, the injections were at first opposed by the bulk of the doctors; nor was the profession as a whole largely serviceable in securing absolutely safe milk. To the leading minority belongs the major part of the credit in accomplishing these two desirable results.

This entire problem of rural medical service in the country is causing concern to some leaders of the profession. Others aver that with the growing tendency of country and village people to go to the city for medical service, and with improved roads making it easier for doctors to reach the farmhouse, there is a sufficient number of physicians in rural America to meet the need. In this connection it should be remembered that only 6.3 percent of American farm homes are on hard-surfaced roads, including macadam, whereas 62.9 percent are on dirt roads. Most of the rest are on gravelled roads.

There are here two matters for consideration. One concerns the present and the other the future. From the latter point of view it must be recalled that the number of physicians in the country is declining out of all proportion to losses in the population. Indeed, it is declining even when the population is increasing; and the present urban-rural migration is resulting in increases in many rural areas where losses have been the rule. This decline seems from the foregoing details to be caused by the migration of physicians to the city, the retirement and death of older doctors, and the failure of younger graduates to settle in rural districts.

This being the case, the situation is bound to get progressively worse. Proof of this inference is contained in a study, made by Dr. William Allen

Pusey in 1925, of the medical situation in 283 representative rural counties which have in them no town of over 5,000 population. This study covered 41 states.[1] It showed the average age of the practicing physicians to be 52 years, and the average time practicing to be 26 years. But, more important, it was discovered that in the ten years preceding this study only 398 recent graduates had begun to practice in 183 of these counties, or less than 2.2 per county. Conversely, 100 counties had failed in an entire decade to attract a single medical graduate whose diploma had been received during that period. Dr. Pusey estimated that if this were to continue for another decade, with no deaths, removals or cessation of practice among the new doctors, the average number of physicians per county for this sample would drop from 15.5 in service in 1925 to 2.8 in 1935.

Number of Non-medical Practitioners Increasing.—The result of this progressive decline in the number of doctors serving rural people is a great increase in the number of so-called non-medical practitioners, such as osteopaths, chiropractors, and the like. This was quite in evidence in the 140 villages, as is pointed out in the 1924 study of the 140 village communities.[2] Field workers in 1930 noted an increase in the number of such non-medicals.[3] In a further study, covering 172 of his original 283 counties, Dr. Pusey found that for every recent medical graduate beginning practice within the previous decade, 2.25 non-medicals had begun practice.[4] Obviously physicians are not neglecting the country because there is no field or no potential source of income. The great increase in irregular practitioners proves that the field and the income are there. It would appear that large sections of rural America face either a breakdown of medical service, a surrender of the field to irregulars, or socialized medicine unless the medical profession, with or without aid from the state and social agencies, can solve the problem.

DENTISTS AND NURSES

Dentists Hold Their Ground.—Dentists do not seem to have followed the same trends as the doctors. The number in the 177 villages for which special census data were secured remained practically constant between 1920 and 1930; there being 309 in the latter year as against 313 in the

[1] Pusey, William Allen. *Medical Education and Medical Service, Some Further Facts and Considerations.* (Chicago, American Medical Association, 1926) 20 pp. See also by the same author and publisher: *Medical Education and Medical Service* (1925) 59 pp.; *The Principles Governing the Distribution of Physicians and Some Corollaries Thereof* (1925) 15 pp.; *The Old Time Country Doctor* (1925) 12 pp.

[2] Brunner, Hughes and Patten. *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927) page 227.

[3] Unfortunately it was impractical to secure from the census data an exact count of the number of these practitioners.

[4] Pusey, *The Disappearance of Doctors from Small Towns* (Chicago, American Medical Association, 1927) 4 pp.

former. However, the number of dentists for each 1,000 population in the 140 village communities declined from about .7 to .64. About one-seventh of the villages had no dentists, mostly places of less than 1,000 population. The dentists also are younger than the physicians by nearly a decade, averaging 44 years at both census periods. The variants from this average were the Middle Atlantic region, where the average age was 50.6 years, and the Far West, where it was 39.

TABLE 126.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF DENTISTS IN 1930, BY REGION,—177 VILLAGES

Region	Years of age		
	21–44 percent	45–64 percent	65 and over percent
All regions	52.4	43.7	3.9
Middle Atlantic	39.6	52.1	8.3
South	50.0	46.8	3.2
Middle West	51.4	44.3	4.3
Far West	67.8	32.2	0.0

Source: Special Census Tabulations on the 177 villages.

There are several possible explanations for the difference between dentists and physicians with respect to their distribution in these villages. The general public in these last decades have been taught to take better care of teeth than was formerly the custom. This has brought increased patronage to the village dentist. On the other hand, the physician has suffered because rural people have increasingly used urban doctors and medical facilities. Again, the average dentist needs neither the years of training nor the elaborate laboratory equipment that have become necessary for the best medical work. Hence several important reasons motivating the rural-urban migrations of the doctors are not factors in the case of the dentists.

Nurses Increase in Number, Decrease in Age.—Interestingly enough, despite a loss of nearly 16 percent in the number of physicians, the number of nurses increased from 221 to 378 in the 177 villages for which census data are available, or from 1.2 to 2.1 per community. This is a gain of 71 percent. All regions shared in this gain; but the South, with 1.1 nurses per village, was lowest. The other regions ranged from 2.2 to 2.7. The increase in the number of nurses is not accounted for by the increase in the number of public-health nurses which, it will be remembered, was very small. It may be owing simply to the number of rural girls who have taken nursing training, and who desire to work in their home communities. The 1924 study discovered that one-eighth of all the high-school girls expected to enter the nursing profession. The decrease in the average age of the nurses, from 35 to 32 years, and the fact that nearly a third of them were less than 25 years of age, would seem to show that many young women had entered the profession in these villages

between 1920 and 1930. Many of them, especially the older ones, were not the regularly trained but the so-called "practical nurses."

Fewer Veterinarians.—The other professional group having to do with medicine in any form is that of the veterinarians. The number of these has declined with the coming of the automobile. There were only 19 in the 34 villages of the Middle Atlantic states, and 13 in the 44 southern villages; 130 in all, as against 157 in 1920 in the total sample of 177. In the regions mentioned, too, the average age is over 50. In the two western regions, it was about five years less. In the dairying, hog and cattle sections there is, of course, still considerable work for the veterinary surgeon. Three-fifths of them in these villages are in the Middle West, which region has only two-fifths of the villages.

Several conclusions are to be drawn from the data presented in this chapter. It is quite clear that villages as such cannot become the centers of social work in rural communities as they have of so many other activities, unless the service is a part of, and supervised by, a county, district or state organization. Under such conditions the village serves quite as well as a point of contact in reaching all rural people.

But villagers and countrymen alike are desirous of modern social and health services; and more are available than a decade ago. Medical service, as given by physicians alone, seems to lag. Physicians are fewer and older. The public health movement, vigorous and growing as it was at least up to the beginning of the industrial depression in 1929, cannot as at present organized meet the health needs of rural people.

Finally, there must be listed in the realm of social services, local government itself. Weak as it has been shown to be in technical social service, it does perform important functions in the protection of property, the enforcing of such social customs as have been crystalized in laws, and in the effecting of improvements of many kinds in the physical appearance and structure of the villages. Local government is community housekeeping. As such it is an important social service; and this phase of rural life remains for discussion.

Chapter XI

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

THE purpose here is to sketch briefly some of the changes in governmental relationships that have to do with certain of the institutions and organizations already discussed. One of the trends of the period under study is the gradual assumption of various social responsibilities by different administrative units of government. This has been noted in the case of health, social-welfare, recreation, and youth-serving agencies; and, of course, with those of education. The social importance, therefore, of the changing forms and functions of local government is obvious. Not all of the problems usually associated with government, such as elections, protection of life and property, administration of justice or the assessment, the levy and collection of taxes, can be considered here. Other studies have considered these and other similar questions from the broader national point of view.[1] This chapter is concerned only with the social implications of government in rural society.

Few Changes in the Past; but Many Indicated in the Future.—Of all the institutions with which rural society is concerned, local government has probably changed least with respect to its units and forms, though there have been changes in the ways in which the various units perform their functions, and in the relations they bear to the larger administrative units of the state and the nation.

Local government units, such as townships, villages and counties, originated, as did units for other types of social and economic service, in the days of the pioneer and in the time of the neighborhood economy. They were of necessity small in area and in population. As the demand arose for government to take on an increasing number of functions, uncounted special districts of over 100 different kinds, each with separate administrations, were set up for such purposes as fire protection, library service, lighting, irrigation, mosquito abatement, and so on. One village of 1,800 that separated from its township by incorporation, had previously had eleven different elections each year; eight on a district basis, the rest primary and other general elections. This shows the inadequacy of the old units of government to meet new needs. It also illustrates the lack of uniformity among the units of local government that are to be found.

[1] *Cf.* The following chapters appearing in *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933): Wooddy, Carroll H.; "The Growth of Governmental Functions"; Heer, Clarence, "Taxation and Public Finance"; White, Leonard D., "Public Administration"; Clark, Charles E. and Douglas, William O., "Law and Legal Institutions"; and Merriam, C. E., "Government and Society."

Except for the device of creating these special districts, local government until comparatively recent times has resisted change, save for changes in the responsibilities, powers, or functions of existing units or officials. Thus in New York, the present system of town government was established over 200 years ago, while the plan of county government was recognized by the Constitution of 1777. There is nothing more striking than to see the similarity in lists of town officials as they appeared in 1691 and in 1932.

Now, however, it is being increasingly recognized that this archaic system is breaking down under the social and economic changes already outlined in this study, such as the changes in the mobility and characteristics of population, the increasing interdependence of country, village and city, and the greater emphasis upon education, health and welfare activities. Local units of government no longer conform to the social and economic relations and functioning of rural society. As a result, discussions and studies looking toward improvement have been initiated, and reorganizations have been attempted here and there. The belief, that the persistence of these tens of thousands of such local units is a factor in mounting taxation, has further stimulated this movement.

There are many evidences of a rising tide of dissatisfaction with local government. The recurring theme of the 1931 meeting of the American Country Life Association, which discussed "Local Government,"[1] was the necessity for revamping the functions and local units of rural governmental agencies.[2] Even possibilities regarding the creation of rural municipalities, including villages or small towns and their communities, were considered. Other forms of evidence are the Governor's Commission of New York for the study of local government, and the bill passed by the legislature of the same state providing for the recodification of the century-old town law. Investigations of an official or quasi-official nature have been or are being made in at least twelve states. Significant reports have already been published of investigations in New Jersey and Mississippi.[3] Comprehensive studies of government in rural areas are also under way in Michigan and Minnesota. County government studies have been made through a series of years by the University of North Carolina. Likewise, private organizations, such as the National Municipal League's Committee on the County and the American Public Health Association, have sponsored similar inquiries into local government.

[1] Proceedings of American Country Life Association 1931 meeting (New York).

[2] C. J. Galpin and Theo. B. Manny, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, have urged such a consideration. *Cf.* Manny, Theo. B., The *Rural Municipalities* (New York, Century Company, 1930).

[3] *The Organization, Functions and Expenditures of Local Government of New Jersey*, by the New Jersey Commission to Investigate Municipal and County Taxation (1932). *Survey of the Organization and Administration of State and County Government in Mississippi*, by the Research Committee of the State of Mississippi (1932).

Then actual reorganizations are taking place in a number of states in the form of consolidation of existing districts, counties, or other units, of provisions for joint action, or joint institutions, as well as of the transfer or readjustments of functions to other than local units. It may be suggested that in very general terms this movement appears to be taking two main forms. First is the tendency for certain functions to pass from local units to county or state or even to federal control. This involves, not only questions of administration, constitutional changes and financing, but also of policies regarding personnel. Second is the tendency toward larger local units, and the creation of new forms adjusted to modern needs. This involves the abolition of certain local units, especially of township governments and local districts.

Proposals including the reorganization of territory, which therefore affect the relationships of country, village and city people, have special significance for this study. What criteria shall be used to delimit the boundaries of the new units? How may social considerations be given their proper weight along with those of efficiency, economy, or administrative convenience? For it must be emphasized that considerations for the reorganization of local government will need to go far beyond the immediate interests of economy or of efficiency.

Increasing Influences of State over Local Governments.—Arguments have waxed hot, and have extended to the highest courts, over this question of centralization of government control versus local control or what is often referred to as "home rule." As a representative of the National Municipal League points out, the legislatures originally had complete control and power over counties; and only a few decades ago the Supreme Court of the United States ruled regarding the county that "the state made it and could, in its discretion, unmake it."[1]

Yet there has been continual insistence by local people upon their right to determine what government shall do in their own location. They have feared betrayal of their interests by a central authority, or urban dominance of a rural population. Hence constitutions have been filled with clauses that prevent most states from making many changes in local units of government without facing the necessity of amending their constitutions. Cities and metropolitan areas have countered the centralizing tendencies by "home rule" legislation intended to check state power over such urban groups.

Despite these provisions, states have been steadily acquiring greater influence over, and control of, local functions and agencies; and in most instances without complete or even radical changes in the framework of existing governmental units. The change seems to be taking place chiefly in two ways; through the direct assumption of local functions, and by

[1] Jones, Howard P., *Constitutional Barriers to the Improvement in County Government* (New York, National Municipal Review, August, 1932) Supplement.

various sorts of grants-in-aid or subventions that carry with them various supervisory and controlling conditions. Under the excessive pressure of property taxes and of insistence upon greater efficiency, local units, including county units in some states, have inclined to give over certain functions entirely. The illustrations are furnished by North Carolina in the case of roads and schools and by Virginia in the matter of roads.

Increasing state influence through the use of grants-in-aid has been noted especially in the case of the schools in Chapter VII. This method of state control has likewise drawn forth much pro and con argument. The granting of subsidies by a central government to local units has long been practiced but it is only within the past twenty years in the United States that there has been a notable expansion both in the amounts and in the purposes for which such grants have been made.[1] Many of the purposes for which these grants are made are of significance in a study of rural society. The oldest and the most important subsidies have been for schools; and between 1913 and 1929 the amounts granted increased more than four times, according to Fairlie, to $339,511,000 in the latter year. It was noted, however, that the total amount of state revenues and expenditures have increased at about the same rate, so that such subsidies for education are about the same proportion of totals as in 1913. Grants of this kind vary widely in amounts and in their contingent qualifications among the different states. In order of largest amounts given, New York comes first, followed by Pennsylvania, California and Texas. In half the states, more than 20 percent of the local-school revenues are from state grants. On the other hand, in twenty states less than 10 percent come from state sources.

The extension of state powers in educational matters has increased steadily since 1900.[2] As Chapter VII of the present study has shown, this control takes such forms as supervision of teachers' training and certification, accrediting of schools, inspecting of buildings and equipment, control of curriculum, and the increasing of staffs of supervisional and advisory officials and officers.

Highway subsidies are much the largest of the federal grants and take second place in the states, having begun on a large scale in New Jersey in 1891. Both the control exercised by states, and the amounts involved, increased very much thereafter; in 1931 North Carolina assumed responsibility for all county highways. In many other states, the grants to local units have been supplemented by the taking over, constructing, and maintaining of whole systems. Complete records of total grants for roads are not available, yet Professor Fairlie estimates that there was more than

[1] Fairlie, John A., "Subsidies to Local Governments," from *The Proceedings of the Chicago Exploratory Research Conference on the Reorganization of the Areas and Foundation of Local Government, May 1932* (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1932).

[2] *Cf. Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933): Chapter by White, Leonard D., "Public Administration."

a ten-fold increase in state expenditures for highway purposes between 1913 and 1929.

In matters of public health and social welfare, the increase in state powers has been greatest since 1890, according to Professor White. As is indicated in the earlier section of this chapter and elsewhere, such control takes the form of local inspection, regulation concerning local health officers, action by the state against localities or local officers for failure to conform to regulations. State services of various sorts, such as laboratories, have been increased. There has been extension of state hospitals for the insane, for example, and of other charitable institutions, to relieve local institutions. The actual grants from the state to localities have been relatively small compared with those for education and highways. Although Professor Fairlie estimates that state expenditures for charities have doubled between 1913 and 1929, the proportion for this purpose in terms of total state expenditures was smaller in the latter year than in the former.

The functions in which the centralizing tendency is much less pronounced are policies of fire protection, parks and public recreation, and the control of elections. Considering all the functions together from the standpoint of comparison for federal, state, city and other local governmental expenditures, Table 127 taken from another study, gives an excellent summary of changes between 1915 and 1928 when measured in terms of 1914 dollars.[1]

Counties as Administrative Units.—In similar manner, tendencies toward federal supervision and control over state functions could be traced; but this is not within the scope of the present study. One other tendency should be noted briefly, however. It is at the county level of government where increasing services and functions are likewise being concentrated. This and other chapters have shown the growth, for example, of county health units, the extension of services of county agricultural and demonstration agents under both federal and state grants-in-aid, the movements for county administration of education, the urge for county library service, the increase of county parks and recreation places, and the concentration of social welfare functions on the county basis.

The question therefore arises as to whether the county is becoming not only the administrative unit for local social functions but also the actual working unit. The evidence gathered in the restudy of the 140 agricultural communities and the intensive restudies of other local situations seems to indicate that smaller than county units are still required for much of the face-to-face work of social agencies and institutions. In fact, as was

[1] *Cf.* The chapter appearing in *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933); by Wooddy, Carroll H., "The Growth of Governmental Functions."

TABLE 127.—GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURES IN 1914 DOLLARS AND PERCENT OF INCREASE, BY FUNCTION

Function, government	Amount (in millions)		Percent		Percent of each function		Percent increase
	1915	1928	1915	1928	1915	1928	1915–1928
Grand total	$3,139.4	$5,315.2	100.00	100.00	.....	.....	69.3
Military—Federal	435.1	723.1	13.86	13.60	.....	.....	66.2
Education—Total	741.7	1,554.7	23.62	29.25	100.0	100.0	109.6
Federal	3.6	6.4	0.11	0.12	0.5	0.4	77.8
State	154.9	294.6	4.94	5.54	20.9	18.9	90.2
Cities	231.0	512.7	7.46	9.75	31.1	33.0	121.9
Other local	352.1	741.0	11.22	13.94	47.5	47.7	110.5
Highways—Total	445.8	1,081.5	14.20	20.35	100.0	100.0	142.6
Federal	0.5	52.4	0.02	1.00	0.1	4.8	948.0
State	76.8	334.2	2.49	6.29	17.2	30.9	335.2
Cities	182.6	315.6	5.81	5.94	41.0	29.2	72.8
Other local	185.9	379.3	5.92	7.13	41.7	35.1	104.0
Welfare—Total	227.8	329.1	7.26	6.19	100.0	100.0	44.5
Federal	19.9	18.2	0.64	0.34	8.7	5.5	− 8.5
State	102.0	142.1	3.25	2.67	44.8	43.2	39.2
Cities	47.8	80.3	1.52	1.51	21.0	24.4	68.0
Other local	58.1	88.6	1.85	1.67	25.5	26.9	52.5
Other—Total	1,289.0	1,626.9	41.06	30.61	100.0	100.0	26.2
Federal	235.0	294.1	7.49	5.53	18.2	18.1	25.1
State	136.0	199.6	4.33	3.76	10.6	12.3	46.8
Cities	455.7	779.5	14.52	14.66	35.3	47.9	71.1
Other local	462.3	353.7	14.73	6.65	35.9	21.7	−23.5

Totals include current expenses and outlays only. Military includes army, navy and veterans' services; education includes Office of Education, vocational education, etc., but not Indian education or extension service and experiment stations. Highways includes Bureau of Public Roads, federal aid highways and forest highways, roads and trails. Welfare includes Indian affairs, promotion of labor interests, immigration and naturalization and relief. In state totals, subsidies from the federal government are subtracted. Welfare expenditures are those for charities, hospitals and corrections. City figures are less state subventions, and are for cities over 30,000 in population.

Source: *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, chapter by Wooddy, Carroll H., "The Growth of Governmental Functions," Table XIX.

shown in Chapter IX, not only was there a definite increase in the county-wide organization of local groups of people, but the local working groups persist, and many state and county agencies are definitely promoting such local special interest organizations.

The difficulty often observed was that such promotion, even including grants-in-aid, was motivated with only the single purpose of the larger agency in mind. The total local situation was not sufficiently taken into account. For example, health units were being organized and promoted irrespective of existing organizations for social welfare or adult education. The extreme of this tendency, of course, was the multiplicity of special districts for special functions to which reference has already been made in this chapter.

The movement toward county consolidations is likewise important. It has reached real proportions, as shown by the sixty-four county

consolidations in twenty states and the state-wide consolidation proposals in seventeen states. These movements have their roots in the inability of small and poor areas to support the various governmental services. It is all a part of the general movement for economy in all kinds of governmental expenditures. While ordinarily it would be impossible to redraw county boundaries owing to political difficulties and the hindrances of tradition, it does appear that something can be done in the way of actual combinations of functions or in the complete consolidation of units.

The movement has been so recent that there has not been sufficient time or study to indicate fully the extent to which the consolidations of counties or functions alluded to have accomplished the hoped-for economies and efficiencies. There is, however, evidence to this effect, such as a tri-county consolidation in Georgia and the statistical analysis made in the Mississippi study already noted, as well as some studies in other states which alike seem to show real improvements over past conditions.

In passing, attention should be drawn to the fact that township boundaries are in a far more fluid state than those of counties. The incorporation of a village or city alters their condition. Annexations by growing towns or cities are frequent. Actual consolidations seem to be increasing.

All of these tendencies raise the question regarding the place of the village in local rural government and finally regarding what really does constitute a local community for purposes of government where there can be at least some semblance of coördination of some of the functions necessary in a modern standard for rural living.

Changes in Activities of Village Municipalities.—Save in New England, 64.2 percent of the places under 2,500 population were in 1930 incorporated as municipalities, as against 59 percent in 1920. There appears to be a tendency, though it varies sharply in the different regions, for a greater proportion of such places to incorporate. This procedure sets them off from their country constituency and gives them a governmental identity that has an important bearing upon village and country relations.

The tendency to incorporate villages varies regionally; but in all regions between 1920 and 1930, except for New England where no computation was made, the proportion of all villages that are incorporated increased. Table 128 gives the regional details. It will be noted that unincorporated villages have all but disappeared from the West North Central states, and that the greatest proportional gain in incorporation was made in the Mountain states.

The activities carried on by these small municipalities, in addition of course to such usual local-government functions as conducting the regular and special elections, maintaining order, and the levying and gathering of the taxes, are in the main confined to the functions of educa-

TABLE 128.—RATIO OF INCORPORATED VILLAGES TO ALL VILLAGES

Census division	1920 percent	1930 percent	Census division	1920 percent	1930 percent
United States (except New England)	59	64	South Atlantic	57	62
Middle Atlantic	33	38	East South Central	58	60
East North Central	67	72	West South Central	51	55
West North Central	89	92	Mountain	56	78
			Pacific	43	46

Source: Rand McNally Atlas and United States Census.

tion, the utilities, and public buildings and improvements. In most states the major health and social-welfare functions have passed to county or to state auspices.

Most of the activities concerned with education have been dealt with in Chapter VII with the important exception, from the point of view of local government, of the separation of the administration of educational affairs from other local governmental functions. To be sure, the village is not alone in this situation; the same lack of relationship exists in cities and counties. For the village, however, the matter is of increasing importance because, as has been shown, an increasing proportion of village-school enrollment is being drawn from the country. This present situation is the result of various changes that have been traced by educational authorities as follows:

In colonial New England the control of the school was in the hands, first, of the town meeting and, later, of the selectmen. Still later, a special committee was created to control schools, because it was recognized that education is different in its character as a community enterprise from any of the other undertakings of society. The American people have always felt that the services rendered by schools are of so intimate and personal a character that these services cannot be controlled in the same way that policing or other public functions are controlled.

What happened in colonial New England has been repeated in the later history of American communities. Cases have appeared in the later history of American cities where at first the common council controlled the schools through a committee but later surrendered control to an independent board. In general, boards of education have been recognized by state law as corporations distinct from the local government. Legislatures have granted special charters to city districts, and in some instances the board of education has been recognized in the charters as a wholly independent taxing agency.

It has become evident, especially in recent years, that intolerable complications arise when the tax levied for the maintenance of schools is treated as a separate tax. Various compromises have therefore been arranged between the school board and the municipal government. Sometimes the city council has veto power or the city manager or a budget commission actually participates in the making up of the budget and in its adoption.

School people have, in general, favored a separation as complete as possible of the school board from the municipal government. In so doing, they have con-

tended that they are in agreement with the general attitude of the American people, which, as described earlier, is an attitude of unwillingness to submit the schools to the control of general political organizations.[1]

It is further pointed out that additional complications are introduced into a local city or village situation when a professional superintendent is employed to direct the activities of the educational system. The rights and duties of such an officer respecting expenditures, selection of teachers and janitors, and erection of buildings, have never been clearly defined. In villages the situation is likewise complicated; because in many instances, the administration boards and their electorates are not the same for the grades and for the high school. The legal areas of control may not correspond in either case with the incorporated area of the village, and even less with the areas from which the pupils are drawn.

The country, in turn, is divided into small district units. In New York state, there were at one time 10,000 common-school districts. Therefore, it may be said that in educational affairs rural government is even more chaotic than in cities. The solution can come only after much more study and experimention. To mention New York state again, a committee has recommended that a high-school community unit be formed, large enough to be able to maintain a high school financially and at the same time furnish a sufficiently large number of pupils. The common schools may continue to maintain their districts if they so choose.

A second major function of village municipalities is to maintain utilities, although the tendency in many of the 140 villages seemed to be to sell local plants of various kinds to private utility companies. This is probably a tendency contrary to that prevailing in many of the larger city centers. Approximately one-third of the outstanding indebtedness found among the 140 villages was for the utilities, one-third for streets, and a final third for schools and miscellaneous items.

The third group of activities of village municipalities, and the ones that command most general attention, are in relation to the public buildings and improvements. In the period between 1924 and 1930, a good deal was undertaken. For example, 22 of the 140 villages purchased new fire trucks, 14 put in new street-lighting systems, and 6 of them extended their lighting systems for a distance out along the important roads approaching the village. Twenty-five villages improved their streets by such measures as widening or hard surfacing, 10 put in sewer systems, and 11 new water systems. In the West, 3 villages undertook reforestation enterprises near the sources of their water supply. As has been detailed in the chapter on social and recreational organizations, the villages frequently joined with citizens' organizations in such improve-

[1] G. A. Works and Charles Judd, Discussion in *The Proceedings of the Chicago Exploratory Research Conference in the Reorganization of the Areas and Functions of Local Government,* May, 1932 (New York; Social Science Research Council, 1932).

ments as community houses, swimming pools, playgrounds, parks and tourists' camps.

Nine villages erected public buildings of various kinds, including libraries or municipal buildings ranging in cost from 65 to 100 thousand dollars, and averaging over 81 thousand. All of these activities are facing embarrassment with the present financial distress unless they were paid for at the time of their completion. The indebtedness figures show that unfortunately many were not. For 12 identical villages where comparisons could be made, the average indebtedness increased from $29,392 in 1924 to $33,998 in 1930, exclusive of indebtedness for schools.

The total cost of local village government to the residents, measured in terms per capita taxes, increased considerably in the six-year interval, as Table 129 shows.

TABLE 129.—TAXES PER CAPITA,—140 VILLAGES

Region	1924	1930
All regions	$10.81	$17.64
Middle Atlantic	8.39	10.90
South	8.49	12.52
Middle West	11.77	25.43
Far West	14.29	12.02

In the Middle West, the amount more than doubled in the period, while the villages of the Far West succeeded in reducing their per capita costs.[1] This seems to bear out the contention that the rise in taxes noted in Chapter II was the result of local rather than federal action. On the other hand, considerable pressure has been brought to bear on the small municipalities to effect improvements. This was especially the case with schools, as was pointed out in Chapter VII. Furthermore, construction of public buildings was urged by the federal government as a patriotic duty during the early months of the depression.

In summation, it must be said that the village is a very small unit indeed to undertake many major government functions; and that it is finding itself in more and more incongruous positions because its incorporated areas and its school districts frequently do not correspond in any sense to

[1] No analysis is here attempted of village budgets, assessed valuations, or the ratio of assessed to true value. This was attempted but proved impossible for several reasons. Systems of accounting varied greatly among the states and even within states. In some villages financial records were poorly kept. Many assessors and others questioned refused to estimate the ratio of assessed to true value because of the untoward economic situation existing at the time of the survey, and indeed in a number of communities sales were below assessments.

For an extended discussion of village municipalities and comparison of their expenditures for selected states as of 1924–25, *Cf.* Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927), chapter ix and Appendix D, pp. 241–257 and 314–319.

its social and economic service areas. It cannot secure full financial support from country areas for its schools unless in a legal district plan. Tuition in the majority of cases is allowed only on the basis of operating, not on capital costs. The village cannot take its country constituency into full coöperative arrangements for such municipally controlled and financed activities as libraries, swimming pools or community houses. To be sure, the privileges of participation can be extended with or without cost; but this can hardly make for a complete community solidarity.

Probable Trends in Reorganization of Local Government.—What then is the answer to the question as to the proper units and functions for local governments? No final answers can be hazarded without much more study than has been made up to the present time. Only comparatively recently have real interest and concern in this problem been shown. This is one of the trends of the period. The evidence seems to point to a continued centralization of power in the states at the expense of localities, especially rural communities, as no local developments in opposition to the trend are clearly visible. There is also evidence of the beginnings of rather basic reorganization of rural governmental units; but just the direction that these will ultimately take is certainly far from clear at present. The interest in many of such plans is to secure a much "greater interpenetration and greater integration" of the social and economic life and organization with the political agencies.[1]

Furthermore, there was plenty of evidence in the course of the field work in rural communities that people will insist on some form of local government and of local officials whom they "can know and can trust," as one farmers' organization leader expressed it. Conversations with many township chairmen and clerks, and with many village officers, show that people turn to such local officials for many services of a legal, semi-legal and protective character. City newspapers tell how city people use their party ward leaders to untangle many difficulties in which the jurisdiction of the several local governments are far from clear to the layman and frequently to the professional politician. In a similar fashion, rural people turn to their local officers.

If government cannot respond to the changing demands of its citizens and to a changing social situation, then there frequently arises what is termed "invisible government behind the scenes." This frequently has unfavorable connotations of manipulation or illegal control. In the present study, however, there was often found what might be termed "social action" preceding legal action. This was especially evident in the case of consolidation of country school districts, or the union of country and village territory into enlarged high-school districts. Schools would be closed, but districts not dissolved. Transportation and tuition would be

[1] *Cf. Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1932), chapter by C. E. Merriam, "Government and Society."

arranged with a nearby country or village school. Ultimately the social practice was made complete by legal vote after the first opposition and controversy had waned.

It is possible that this is one direction which the reorganization of local government may take with respect to other functions. In any case, it will involve something far more fundamental than the usual arguments expressed in terms of efficiency and financial saving. It will involve social relations, feelings of confidence, and mutual advantage.

The nearest approach to this "social action" development encountered in the present study of rural social changes, or the best illustration of it, is that of village and country relations in which the high school seems to play a leading part. As has been said, trade seemed to be less determining in such relations at the time of the restudy; but the high school with its increasing country enrollment was far more important. Not only do the findings of the New York Commission point in this direction, but many local situations were encountered in the restudy which were working out in this way. May it not be that the high school, with its agriculture, home economics and commercial departments, may become the focal institution for both the youth and the adults of the larger village-country community even as the district school was in the days of the older neighborhood arrangements. Many adjustments would be required; but judging by the experiences of a number of local communities, such a village-country unit can become an area in which a large measure of coördination can be achieved, at least for a number of allied or related functions. The possibilities of this may be seen from the map of a village-country high school area shown as Fig. 20.

The administrative unit for many of the functions may be the county; but, as has been pointed out, there seems to be need for more localized working units. For example, in some states, as California and Ohio where the county library plan has wide usage, a local branch is often set up in the high school, not only for the pupils, but for the residents of the larger community. There may be a branch in the village itself; but in any case the whole system, both of finance and of personnel, is integrated; and the needless duplications often found between the various country district schools, or between the country schools and the village schools, or again between the schools and the village libraries, are avoided.

Likewise county health units were visited in which local community groups of interested adults formed the real working units of the organization. The prevention work and the work with adults was all correlated with the plans carried out through the schools. Agencies for recreation, child welfare, social service, credit, and fire prevention, and the protection associations were all found working according to similar arrangements; but rarely were more than a few of them working coöperatively in one place. Never was a case found where complete coördination had been

made. The work of the high school itself fits well with such a plan, at least as it was found administered where the school leaders, the village leaders, and country leaders made a real effort to think of their community

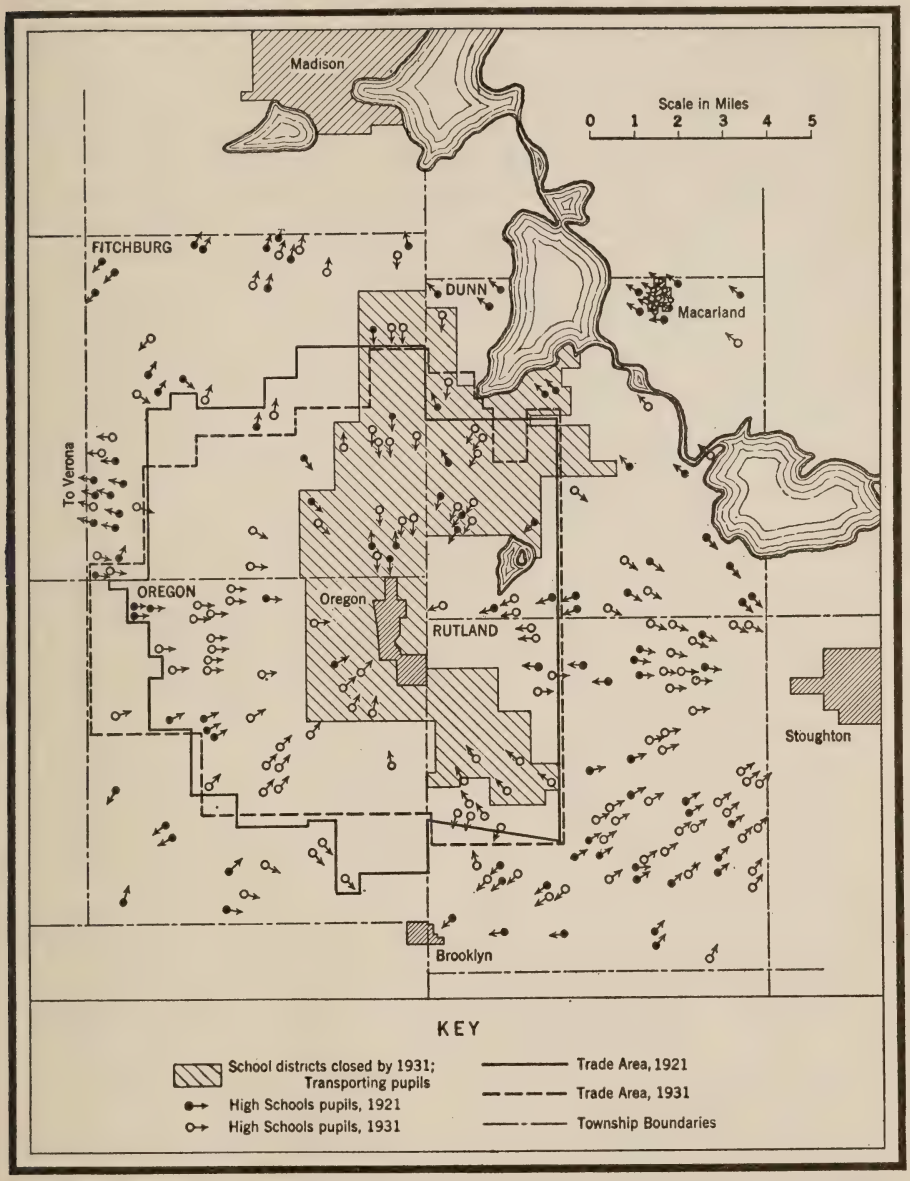

FIG. 20.—Trade area and high school pupils about Oregon, Wisconsin, 1921 and 1931.

as a whole. Adult groups for both men and women were found in which the teachers of agriculture and home economics, as well as of music and the drama, worked successfully. The Junior 4-H club and the Future

Farmers groups, of course, were the most popular forms of local organization within the high-school areas.

It must be emphasized, however, that before a complete coördination can be made on a community basis, much closer coöperation than was found in many states will have to be brought about between the two large groups of leaders promoted by state and federal grants-in-aid; namely, the county agricultural agents under what is known as the Smith-Lever funds, and the teachers of agriculture in the high schools under the Smith-Hughes federal provision. In other states, the most cordial of personal relations were found; but there was frequently little or no real plan for coöperation in the organization of work.

It seems conceivable that groups of functions other than those that have been suggested for a village-country community area, could also be found which might be organized on some sort of local district plan. In some cases, it is quite possible that the unit for such associated functions would be larger than the ordinary country; and the state might have to be the administrative unit. In any case, local government is a most interesting field in which there is great need for study, and above all for courageous experimentation and demonstration.

Chapter XII

1930 AND AFTER

THIS report has dealt with the changes that have taken place in rural America in the first thirty years of the Twentieth Century, particularly in the post-war decade of 1920–1930. They are summarized in the chapter on Rural Life in the main report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends.[1] In the present chapter an effort will be made to set against the background of the past three decades some slight sketch of what has happened in rural America during the years of the depression and to raise a few questions as to the future.

This study was begun in 1929 when the industrial prosperity was at high tide and when a decade's depression in agriculture seemed about to lift. The main body of the report was written in the dark days at the end of 1931 and the first half of 1932 when prophecies of the "collapse of civilization" were of daily occurrence. Whether the trends that have been set forth are an index of future developments, and the unprecedented depression of the past three years merely an episode, or whether the changes recorded mark the end of an epoch, it is too early as yet to say. But none can doubt their importance, for within the period under survey, culminating in the decade especially emphasized, rural America felt the full impact of the two forces that have revolutionized the modern world—improved machinery and improved means of communication.

In these years agriculture came for the first time into daily, even hourly, touch with the world and its markets through the rural free delivery, the telephone, the radio and the automobile. In these years, too, agriculture became largely mechanized, and with the resulting increase in production per unit of man-power the flow of population to the land reversed itself and began to turn from the farm and village to the city. Beginning in New England in the closing decades of the Nineteenth Century, the rural-urban migration became a national phenomenon in the Twentieth.

Early observers of the trend foretold the speedy demise of rural social life and organization as a significant characteristic of the American scene. The neighborhood would disintegrate, the village decline. Rural stores would fail to meet urban competition and succumb. The rural church would disappear. But although profound changes have taken place, rural America has not been engulfed in an urban civilization. It has remained

[1] *Cf. Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), Chapter on "Rural Life," by J. H. Kolb and E. de S. Brunner.

distinctive and self-conscious, if the results set forth in previous chapters are in any measure a picture of the situation. Rural America in 1929–1930 was revealed as adjusting itself to the new forces let loose in the world rather than as succumbing to them.

And this adjustment had been taking place during a period when agriculture alone of the major industries of the United States had failed to share in the prosperity of the times. Throughout the period agriculture was a depressed industry. At no time within the decade 1920–1930 was the ratio of the prices received by the farmer to those he paid for the commodities he required as high as it was in the previous decade. Moreover taxes nearly trebled. As a result, for the first time in thirty years land values, so far from rising, declined sharply. Many banks failed, many farmers lost their lands through foreclosure, many social services had to be curtailed. Farm mortgage indebtedness rose. The unsurpassed efficiency of the farmer in the face of restricted buying only resulted in the production of more and more of less needed food and fibre. But rural America struggled to sustain the level of family and community living. By 1929 it seemed as if the end of the period of adjustment might be in sight.

Then came the world-wide industrial depression which greatly aggravated the agricultural situation. The index of the farmers' purchasing power, as calculated by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in terms of the 1909–1914 situation, stood at 90 for the year 1929, dropped to 80 in 1930 and to 62 in 1931. By June 1932 it had gone to 48, but rose by September to 54. The result was a rapidly increasing number of bank failures, foreclosures, tax sales and commercial bankruptcies. Thousands of farm families continue to live on their farms by the sufferance of creditors who have no desire or ability to take over the property. Thus they labor on with a sense of insecurity similar to, if not as acute as, that which harasses the unemployed.

In an effort to gain some insight into local situations, a series of questions was submitted by letter, in March, 1932, to the school officials of the 140 village communities. The replies showed that bank failures and consolidations were continuing, and indicated that the program of new school buildings and improved equipment had ceased entirely. There was some curtailment of teaching staffs. Salary increases had been halted and reductions had begun. Expensive subjects, requiring laboratory materials and supplies, as well as some of the college entrance courses were being discontinued, social science subjects being substituted in some places. At the same time enrollments and also both the number and the proportion of country pupils in the village high schools had increased at even a more rapid rate than between 1924 and 1930. This increase was explained in part by the fact that jobless families and individuals were returning from industrial centers to live with parents or relatives or to attempt to secure at least subsistence in rent-free houses or on abandoned farmsteads.

There are other evidences of a growing movement of population from urban to rural America. In September, 1932, reports from many scattered rural school districts indicated that, as a result of this movement and despite reduced budgets and often staff, they would have to take care of from one-third to twice as many pupils as in 1930.

High-school enrollment has also increased, especially in the post-graduate department. In Indiana, for instance, the rural high-school enrollment gained several thousand, the first gain in some years, while urban enrollment decreased. In Missouri and Arkansas and some other states there are numerous instances of the buses for consolidated school routes, procured on the basis of 1929–1930 enrollments, proving too small.

The office of Rural Life and Farm Population of the United States Department of Agriculture estimates that, during the year 1931, a quarter of a million more people left the city for farms than left farms for the city. This was the second successive year in which mobility of population was directed definitely toward the country. What the future will bring in this respect cannot be predicted. In some cases this back-to-the-farm movement for families of the unemployed was actually organized by industries or city agencies as a way out of their difficulties.

The wisdom of such a movement may well be questioned. Agriculture at present is in an unfavorable position and needs no new productive units. These urban migrants must be financed and many of them know little of farming. Reports from areas where the movement has been well under way for some time are far from satisfactory. Frequently the rural people requiring county aid were said to be settlers of this character who were unable to make a living on the below-average farms which for the most part are all that are available. The so-called "sustenance" farming can hardly succeed with taxes and debts to be paid in money. The back-to-the-land movement, therefore, may only add to the present economic difficulties of many sections of rural America.

A by-product of this situation is the unfortunate lot of high-school graduates. The doors of the city are closed to them and economic opportunity in their home towns is nil. Many rural school principals have reported on the difficulties of this situation.

Interesting, too, is the shift in farm practice. Thousands of tractors were laid up in 1932. The horse had returned to the fields. This meant lower production costs, especially since the horse could eat farm products, while the tractor needed gasoline.

There are also scattered reports from the Middle West that leisure-time activities are changing. Moving-picture theatres and amusement parks have failed and the people have turned to the study of local history, of economics and social conditions, and to art, music and drama on a home talent basis.

Despite all these difficulties, aggravated in some sections by the great drought of 1930, the people carried on and indeed in many places contrasted their situation favorably with that of the city. There were few reports of local disturbances or of attempts at demonstrations until the late summer of 1932. At that time the "farmers' thirty-day holiday" began in Iowa in an attempt to secure higher prices for their products. As this is written, reports of the organization of similar efforts come from three or four other midwestern states. What makes this phenomenon significant is that the farmers in one of the most fertile states in the Union, farmers who are operators and capitalists and who have a long record of conservatism in state and national politics, should be goaded by the situation, by the fear of losing their lands, into adopting the measures of the industrial laborer when on strike. They have attempted to enforce their "holiday" by picketing and by stopping shipments of food to the urban market. They have resisted efforts to make them disperse.

This is a new thing in the United States, betokening a significant change in the psychology of at least some farmers. It not only dramatizes the agricultural difficulties of the time, but it marks a distinct departure from the type of movement among rural people that has characterized other periods of severe economic stress on the farm.

The 1870's saw the rise of the Granger movement, followed by Populism, which reached its peak in the late 1880's and early 1890's, and in turn shaded into the Bryan-led movement for free silver. Nineteen twenty-one produced the Non-Partisan League in those states most severely affected by the post-war deflation, and also the farm bloc in Congress. But the 1930's have as yet seen no green uprising save the "farmers' holiday" in Iowa and some other middle-western states. The field-workers of this study again and again met deep discouragement and dissatisfaction but found no allegiance to a leader, a slogan or an ism. Rather there was bewilderment and pessimism, a sense that the problems involved were so intricate, so varied, so interrelated with world conditions that the way lay perhaps not by progressing farther along a well-known road but by constructing a new highway, a task not for a popular hero but for the scientists and the engineers.

The trends of rural social life sketched in this report raise many questions of future policy that must be answered by rural institutions, rural society and the nation as a whole. Some of these it is important to emphasize.

One arises out of the whole tendency toward specialization that is evident in rural life. Agriculture is a collection of industries, united largely by their touch with the soil, and determined in part by the proximity of groups of farmers to urban markets. The interests of such groups are often diverse, sometimes conflicting. So, too, special groups and efforts to meet special problems are tending to divide rural society, as is witnessed even

in the multiplication of governmental units as widely different as school and mosquito-abatement districts. Whether the net results of this specialization will be to divide rural society or whether these more specialized movements can become less sharp and crusty in their endeavors and seek more assiduously after those matters of common rather than special concern, is a real question for rural leaders. If the latter course should be followed, a real degree of local social and business integrity might be achieved on some community basis and more personalized relations between country and villages might come about in which even local government might some day hope to share.

Again, American agriculture has been an exporting industry, especially up to the turn of the century and during and immediately after the World War. In the present situation it is therefore dependent upon national policy concerning international economic relations. If America is to become a more self-contained, self-sufficing nation it means radical adjustments for agriculture, and it takes years, as the post-war experience shows, to make such adjustments. In this issue such questions are involved as how to effect the adjustment of production to consumption, how to improve the farmers' buying power, how to refinance or otherwise deal with the ten billions of farm debt contracted on the basis of a much higher price level than the present, how to evolve a taxation system more equitably arranged and more scientifically assessed than at present, how to make the best use of the millions of acres reverting to the state through tax sales. Important in any event, these questions become the more insistent should America seek the road of self-sufficiency.

Of these questions two are perhaps of more far-reaching concern than the others, the use of the new public domain growing up through tax sales and the adjustment of production to consumption. In the days of the old public domain, the nation had a land policy of great social as well as economic importance, expressed in the Homestead law. Today tax delinquencies are building in many states a new public domain, in part because without regard to its fitness or to consumer needs all usable non-industrial and non-residential land has been conceived of as potential agricultural land. But land today has other possible uses. Reforestation is one. Recreation is another, as state and national parks as well as commercial developments increasingly indicate. If there is to be a public policy in regard to land certain social considerations and standards cannot be disregarded. If certain land uses result continually in family poverty, in too high costs for schools, roads and other recognized public services, a public danger or even a social menace is created. In industry this principle has been recognized in minimum wage legislation. Perhaps Wisconsin's effort to zone its land, as cities are zoned for particular purposes, and somewhat similar action by New York, represents what will be a future trend. Certainly it is a type of the social experimentation for which the present situation calls.

Americans have been well schooled in a theory of economics which starts with production, a theory born of the uncounted centuries when recurring famines and other shortages pointed to the need to supply sufficient food and shelter for mankind. This theory in rural America received tacit government sanction in the successful efforts of the agricultural extension service constantly to increase per-acre yields through better technology. In recent decades technology has also multiplied other forms of production. But now what was held impossible has happened. Production has outstripped consumption and is caught in the web of the economics of a period that never envisaged such a possibility. Want and suffering are rampant in the land of plenty.

It seems appropriate to ask, therefore, whether the serviceable social science of today and tomorrow must not start with consumption when it deals with such problems as are presented in the present economic situation. Consumption habits, changed but little for centuries, can now be altered or even revolutionized in months. The farmer who for decades has never lacked a market for potatoes may find that a figure-conscious generation has ceased to eat his product. Production must be for consumer needs and consumption habits must be studied, even forecast. The science of consumption must be built by scientists, not sales managers. Consumption includes also the uses to which wealth is put, which has more than once been amassed where it is not of maximum social usefulness.

Consumption, as here used, is related to both the individual and the community standard of living. It is concerned both with goods and social utilities and with non-material spiritual and aesthetic values. The criterion for production and for farm management, as a number of groups of farmers as widely separated as South Dakota, Wisconsin and Connecticut have recently announced, becomes, therefore, how to use land in the light of available consumer markets, so as to secure a desired standard of living including both its material and non-material elements.

Finally, there is the whole intricate question of securing adequate social utilities for the rural minority of the nation's population, a question bound up with the distribution of wealth and with rural-urban relations. The present disparity in the matter of social utilities may be illustrated by the schools. The country, with more than half the children, is less well schooled than the city to which many of its children will eventually go.

Many forms of wealth tend to multiply in city centers because financial institutions and agencies are located there; yet the wealth comes from city and country alike. This raises questions respecting such matters as the equitable basis for the distribution of wealth, the criterion for the assessment and levy of taxes for the support of public institutions, and even regarding those characteristics of industrial and social life that the nation as such wishes to perpetuate. Some economists argue that in order

to preserve certain values which traditionally and historically have been associated with rural life, the city should be willing to grant subsidy to the country. May it not be that the idea of subsidy is aside from the issue? The question is rather one of necessity for action on the part of the city. From the standpoint of its own welfare and its own future it cannot fail to be interested in the health, the training and the social conditioning which the young people of productive ages coming into it have had. Couched in broader terms, what objectives, what goals does the nation most desire to achieve? This settled, wealth can be made to carry its proportionate load regardless of its residence in an enumeration district. Public appropriations of private wealth turn upon questions of policy, and policies turn upon theories or emotions regarding relative values. A nation taught by its census and its incorporating laws to be either "rural" or "urban" and by its politicians to be both or neither as the occasion demands, obviously has considerable difficulty in pursuing any set of values with a singleness of purpose.

The practical question really is: Can the farm minority receive understanding consideration of its own needs and of its contribution to the life of the nation by an increasing urban majority? Such consideration includes questions of credit facilities, of taxation policies, of coöperative sales and purchases of both goods and services, of family and community standards of living, of social institutions for education, social welfare, and religion, and of government itself.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX TABLES

Appendix A—*History and Scope of the Study*

1. Population of the Average Community, Village and Open Country, by Region and by Size of Village,—140 Villages

Appendix B—*Source Data on Rural and Village Population*

2. Native Born Rural-Farm Population, by State of Birth and State of Residence, with Gain or Loss through Interstate Migration, 1930
3. Native Born Rural Farm Population by Division of Birth and by Division of Residence, 1930
4. Native Born Rural Non-Farm Population, by State of Birth and State of Residence, with Gain or Loss through Interstate Migration, 1930
5. Native Born Rural Non-Farm Population by Division of Birth and by Division of Residence, 1930
6. Numerical Increase and Decrease in Population from 1910 to 1920 of Incorporated Villages of 750 to 850 Population
7. Birth Rate per 1,000 for Total, Farm and Rural Non-Farm Population in 1930, by Division and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
8. Numerical Increase and Decrease in Population from 1910 to 1920 of the 8,900 Incorporated Villages, by Size of Village

Appendix C—*Special Case-Studies Showing Tendencies Regarding Neighborhood Changes*

9. Organizations and Institutions in the Neighborhoods of Otsego County, New York, in 1930
10. Institutions in the Neighborhoods of Dane County, Wisconsin

Appendix D—*Source Data on Rural-Urban Relations*

Distribution

11. Proportion of Males Single in the Total Male Population and Proportion of Females Single in the Total Female Population in 1930, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
12. Ratio of Children Under 10 to Women 20 to 45 Years of Age in the Total Population, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
13. Proportion Children Under 10 in Total Population, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
14. Proportion 10 to 21 Years of Age in the Total Population, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
15. Proportion 21 Years of Age and Over in the Total Population, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
16. Ratio of Males to 100 Females in the Total Population, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
17. Ratio of Males to 100 Females in the Rural Farm and Non-Farm Population in 1930, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
18. Proportion of the 7–13 Age Group in School in the Total Population, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
19. Proportion of the 14 and 15 Age Group in School in the Total Population, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

20. Proportion of the 16 and 17 Age Group in School in the Total Population, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
21. Proportion of the 18–20 Age Group in School, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Agriculture

22. Proportion in Farms of All Land Area, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
23. Proportion in Improved Farm Land of all Land Area, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
24. Proportion of Farms Operated by Owners and by Tenants, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
25. Proportion of Farms Mortgaged, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
26. Ratio of the Amount of the Mortgage to Value of Mortgaged Property, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
27. Proportion in Land of All Farm Property, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
28. Proportion in Buildings of All Farm Property, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
29. Proportion in Animals of All Farm Property, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
30. Proportion in Implements and Machinery of All Farm Property, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
31. Value per Acre of All Field Crops, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
32. Proportion in Vegetables of the Value of All Field Crops, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
33. Proportion in Cereals of the Value of All Field Crops, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
34. Proportion in Hay and Forage of the Value of All Field Crops, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
35. Value per Acre of Beef and Dairy Cattle, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
36. Value per Acre of Dairy Products, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
37. Value per Acre of Poultry and Eggs, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
38. Ratio of Dairy Products Sold to Dairy Products Produced, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
39. Ratio of Poultry and Eggs Sold to Poultry and Eggs Produced, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Merchandising

40. Retail Stores per Village, by Type and by Size of Village,—140 Villages
41. Retail Stores per Village, by Tiers of Counties and by Size of Village,—Milwaukee, Wisconsin, area
42. Retail Stores per 1,000 Population in 1930, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
43. Yearly Retail Sales per Store in 1930, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
44. Proportion of Total Retail Sales Made by Specified Types of Stores in 1930, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
45. Proportion of Families Buying Various Items in Specified Places, by Residence

Appendix E—*Source Data on Village and Open Country Churches*

46. Residence of Village Church Membership and Proportion of Churches with Country Membership Increasing, by Region and by Size of Village

47. Changes in Parish Areas of Village Churches, by Region,—140 Villages
48. Distribution of All Churches by Size of Resident Membership, by Region,—140 Villages
49. Village and Country Churches that Gained or Lost in Membership, —140 Villages
50. White Protestant Churches that Gained or Lost in Membership,—21 Counties
51. Age Distribution of Resident Membership of All Churches, by Sex and by Region,—140 Villages
52. Age Distribution of Resident Membership of White Protestant Village and Country Churches in 1930, by Sex and by Region,—140 Villages
53. Proportion Non-Resident Members in Total Membership of White Protestant Churches
54. Attendance Interest in Community Churches, All Churches,—140 Villages
55. Religious Services in All Village and Country Churches, by Region, —140 Villages
56. Enrollment and Attendance in Protestant Village and Country Sunday Schools,—140 Villages
57. Population in Sunday School and Ratio of Sunday School Enrollment to Church Membership, by Region,—140 Villages
58. Religious Education Program of White and Negro Protestant Churches, 1930
59. Students Entering Ministry and Mission Fields in the Last Five Years from White and Negro Protestant Churches
60. Church Organizations for Specified Groups, by Region,—140 Villages
61. Organizations in White Protestant Churches for Specified Groups, by Region,—21 Counties
62. Organizations and Activities in White and Negro Protestant Village and Country Churches, 1930
63. Training of Pastors in Village and Country Churches, by Residence, —140 Villages
64. Training of All Pastors, by Residence,—140 Villages
65. Training of Pastors in White Protestant Churches, by Residence,—21 Counties
66. Pastoral Service in White Protestant Village and Country Churches, by Region—140 Villages
67. Pastoral Service in White Protestant Town, Village and Country Churches, by Regions,—21 Counties
68. Length of Pastorate in All Village and Country Churches,—140 Villages
69. Average Salary of Pastors in All Denominations, by Residence and by Region,—140 Villages
70. Average Salary of Pastors in White Protestant Churches in 1930, by Residence and by Region
71. Protestant Pastors with Other Occupations in Village and Country Churches, by Region
72. Preaching Points Served by Resident and Non-Resident Pastors of All Village and Country Churches, by Region,—140 Villages
73. Value of Church Buildings and Parsonages of Protestant Village and Country Churches, by Region
74. Average Expenditures per Church and per Member in White Protestant Village Churches in 1930, by Region and by Size of Village, —140 Villages
75. Distribution of Per Capita Contributions in Protestant Village and Country Churches, by Region,—140 Villages

76. Specified Data by Number of Churches per 1,000 Population in 1930, by Region,—140 Villages
77. Home Mission Aid in White Protestant Village and Country Churches, by Region,—140 Villages
78. Denominations Aided and Average Grant of White Protestant Churches Having Home Mission Aid

Appendix F—*Source Data on Other Social Institutions*

Schools

79. Changes in Numbers of Rural Grade Schools,—140 Villages
80. Schools in Village Communities and Villages with Four-Year High School Courses,—140 Villages
81. Proportion of Open Country Pupils in Village High and Elementary Schools in 1930, by Region and by Size of Village,—140 Villages
82. Proportion of School Budget Used for Instruction, by Region and by Size of Village,—140 Villages
83. Teaching Cost per Pupil in Village and Country Schools in 1930, by Region and by Size of Village,—140 Villages
84. Average Salary of Teachers in Village and Country Schools in 1930, by Region and by Size of Village,—140 Villages
85. Proportion in School of Specified Age Groups in Total Rural and Urban and in the 177 Villages, by Region

ocial Organizations

86. Social Organizations per 1,000 Community Population by Size of Shopping Center and Distance from That Center and by Region, —140 Villages
87. Ages of Physicians in Four States, by Size of Place, First and Third Quartiles

Appendix G—*Social Utilities and Wealth*

88. Various Community Factors Affected by Wealth, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
89. Per Capita Combined Income from Mining Products, Manufacturing and Farm Crops Sold, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas
90. Relation of Wealth, as Indicated by the Amount of Per Capita Retail Sales, to Various Community Factors,—140 Villages

Appendix A

HISTORY AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

A STUDY of Rural Social Change was initiated by the Institute of Social and Religious Research in 1929. The work of organizing the project began in May of that year. The Institute's interest in this field of study arose from its decade of work in rural social research. It had in 1921 studied socio-religious conditions in twenty-six agricultural counties located in every major region of the United States. In 1924 it had conducted an elaborate study of 140 carefully selected, nationally distributed, agricultural village communities, using both field work and an analysis of census data for the localities selected. With the approach of the 1930 census, and in view of the long-continued agricultural depression, it seemed important to attempt some measurement of the changes that had taken place in the years since the surveys noted above had been undertaken. The Institute, therefore, planned a resurvey of the same villages studied in 1924, and of twenty-one of the twenty-six counties investigated in 1921. The Institute also planned to undertake, as it had previously done with the 1920 data, a special tabulation of the population census data of 1930 for the 177 villages from which the 140 had been selected. In addition, it provided for a comparative analysis of census data for counties surrounding a medium-sized city in each of the chief agricultural areas of the United States for 1910, 1920 and 1930.

In the fall of 1929, President Hoover announced the appointment of a committee to study the entire subject of social change. This committee planned in its investigation to make a study of changes in rural life since the beginning of the century with particular emphasis on the years since the war. It seemed desirable that these two projects covering much the same subject should be combined. Accordingly this was done. The President's Research Committee on Social Trends contributed the services of J. H. Kolb of the University of Wisconsin as co-director. He served part-time during certain periods, and full time from February to September 1932. The Committee also made it possible to increase somewhat the number of cities, and therefore the number of counties whose rural hinterlands were studied; and, in addition, to increase the amount of data gathered for each of these areas. It also financed the intensive resurvey of five counties that had been studied from eight to fifteen years previously by four colleges of agriculture. This made possible more emphasis upon the farm aspects of rural social change than would otherwise have been possible.

Choice of Counties and Village Communities for Field Survey.—The counties and the village communities resurveyed were obviously those

that had been originally selected for study. The Interchurch World Movement had surveyed 600 counties in whole or in part, and those among the 600 that were most representative of the agricultural and population characteristics of the areas in which they lay had been selected for restudy. The 140 village communities were selected after much correspondence with colleges of agriculture, state boards of education, and similar agencies. No villages were selected from New England; because very few such places are incorporated in this region, and hence census data were not available. For various reasons, such as sparseness of villages and atypical agricultural or other conditions, West Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Wyoming and Nevada were omitted. Ohio also was not included, because between 1914 and 1924 much survey work had already been done by various agencies.[1] About 1.3 percent of all incorporated villages were studied, about 2 percent of all agricultural villages.

As is noted in the Preface, an Agricultural village was defined as an incorporated farmers' service station of between 250 and 2,500 population. The upper limit was selected because it marks the dividing line of the United States Census between rural and urban, although in fact many places of 2,500 to 10,000 population are in effect farmers' towns and depend largely on agriculture for their economic base. The growth in population of some of these places between the original and the present surveys, carried them beyond the 2,500 mark by 1930; but they were nevertheless included in this investigation. The effect of the size of the center was sought by dividing the places surveyed into three groups—small villages, with less than 1,000 population; medium, with from 1,000 to 1,750; and large, with 1,750 and over. Since this was a study of change, the population of the village communities in 1924 was taken as the base for comparison. The 1930 results for small, medium and large villages thus give the situation in that year for villages falling in those size-groups in 1924. Changes back and forth over the dividing lines for these size-groups, however, practically balanced; so that had the results been presented as of the 1930 population-grouping, the differences would be insignificant.

Local Area Covered in Study.—That the village could not be entirely differentiated from its contiguous rural territory, was recognized from the first. All features of village life are not confined exclusively within the incorporated boundaries. Accordingly, the investigation included the rural area tributary to each village studied. Special attention was paid to the relationships of the village to this area.[2]

[1] *Cf.* Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927), Appendix A for a full discussion of the choice of these villages and the methods employed in the investigation.

[2] For a discussion of how the geographic limits of this rural hinterland were fixed, see Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villagers* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927) chapter ii, and also the briefer statement in chapter iv of this work.

Thus the unit of the survey was the village and its community. Church, school, and other institutions were surveyed as component parts of the village. While a large variety of facts about these institutions was obtained, the emphasis of the study was upon the contribution the institutions made to the village and the effect that the village had upon them.

The 140 village communities studied had in 1930 a population of 482,112, as against 458,374 in 1924. The village population made up 184,114 of this in 1924, and 189,185 in 1930. Appendix Table 1 gives the detailed figures by size of the village center.

APPENDIX TABLE 1.—POPULATION OF THE AVERAGE COMMUNITY, VILLAGE AND OPEN COUNTRY, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Total community				Village			Country		
	Number of villages	Average population		Percent gain or loss	Average population		Percent gain or loss	Average population		Percent gain or loss
		1924	1930		1924	1930		1924	1930	
	All villages									
All regions	140	3,274	3,444	+ 5.2	1,315	1,351	+2.7	1,959	2,092	+ 6.8
Middle Atlantic	28	2,620	2,717	+ 3.7	1,127	1,192	+5.8	1,493	1,525	+ 2.1
South	30	4,326	4,782	+10.5	1,318	1,385	+5.1	3,008	3,396	+12.9
Middle West	60	3,001	2,957	− 1.5	1,310	1,318	+0.6	1,691	1,639	− 3.1
Far West	22	3,417	3,871	+13.3	1,565	1,600	+2.2	1,852	2,271	+22.6
	Small villages									
All regions	47	2,142	2,183	+1.9	705	739	+4.8	1,437	1,443	+ 0.4
Middle Atlantic	14	2,050	1,985	−3.2	763	826	+8.2	1,287	1,158	−10.0
South	10	3,044	3,166	+4.0	593	647	+9.1	2,451	2,518	+ 2.8
Middle West	18	1,810	1,853	+2.4	732	761	+3.9	1,077	1,091	+ 1.3
Far West	5	1,793	1,959	+9.3	664	601	−9.5	1,128	1,358	+20.3
	Medium villages									
All regions	58	3,267	3,322	+ 1.7	1,299	1,277	−1.7	1,968	2,044	+ 3.9
Middle Atlantic	10	2,871	3,214	+12.0	1,290	1,351	+4.7	1,581	1,863	+17.9
South	10	4,358	4,545	+ 4.3	1,327	1,324	−0.2	3,031	3,221	+ 6.3
Middle West	30	3,054	2,939	− 3.8	1,312	1,274	−2.9	1,742	1,665	− 4.5
Far West	8	3,200	3,362	+ 5.0	1,228	1,138	−7.4	1,972	2,224	+12.8
	Large villages									
All regions	35	4,805	5,339	+11.1	2,161	2,296	+6.2	2,644	3,043	+15.1
Middle Atlantic	4	3,987	4,040	+ 1.3	1,991	2,073	+4.1	1,997	1,967	− 1.5
South	10	5,576	6,634	+19.0	2,036	2,184	+7.3	3,540	4,450	+25.7
Middle West	12	4,655	4,660	+ 0.1	2,170	2,262	+4.2	2,485	2,398	− 3.5
Far West	9	4,512	5,384	+19.3	2,364	2,565	+8.5	2,148	2,819	+31.3

Apart from the United States census, the information about the 140 villages and the twenty-one counties was gathered by field workers who spent from one to two weeks in each village community. Three schedules were used, one for the general community, one for the school, and one for each church.

(1) The Community Schedule covered population, structure, social groups, agricultural conditions, industry, government, banking, charity, health, libraries, social organizations, civic and social life, and leadership.

(2) The Church Schedule called for information in regard to the equipment, finances, membership, and program of each church.

(3) A School Schedule was designed to secure data on the equipment, enrollment, attendance, faculty, changes in curriculum, social life and general community service of each school. For the rural schools a simpler form of this last schedule was used.

In addition to using these schedules, each field-team followed a set of instructions that called for types of information not readily reducible to schedule form and that gave guidance as to the interviews held in every village. On the basis of all information gathered, each team was required to submit a detailed write-up of the particular situation found in each village. This report summarized and interpreted the data set down in the questionnaires, and included an analysis of the non-statistical material secured from the scores of interviews held in each village.

By thus combining a written analysis with the statistical material of the schedules, it was hoped not only to gather strictly comparable data for all villages but also to gain insight into the distinctive problems of each village and the common problems of all.

When received, these field-work data were checked over for possible errors and omissions which were corrected or supplied; and the write-ups were indexed. Statistical data were, of course, tabulated.

The schedules used were essentially identical to those employed in the earlier surveys of the twenty-one counties and 140 agricultural village communities. They have been published in *Surveying Your Community*,[1] and are also separately available from the publishers by any who desire to make comparable studies.

The field worker's time was saved by securing as much information as possible prior to the worker's visit. This information concerned data readily available and often published, such as bank statements, financial statements of school districts, and the like. Library data were also secured in advance through the courtesy of the American Library Association.

This discussion of the methodology of this study has thus far been concerned only with the field-work aspect of the investigation. The use of the specially tabulated and otherwise unpublished census data and, the problems related to the selection and study of the concentric tiers of

[1] Brunner (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1925).

counties around urban centers, also raised problems of method. This will be discussed in following appendices, which will also present detailed data that could not be included in the main body of the report. First, however, it may be useful to set down in detail the regional definitions employed and name the villages and counties studied. Certain acknowledgements must also be made.

Villages and Counties Surveyed.—

140 VILLAGES

Middle Atlantic

New York

Afton	Ellicottville	Phelps
Altamont	Franklinville	Skaneateles
Boonville	Honeoye Falls	Sodus
Canisteo	Newport	Webster
Cattaraugus		

Pennsylvania

Benton	McConnellsburg	Millville
Centre Hall	Martinsburg	Richland
Halifax	Mercersburg	Spring Grove
Howard	Middleburg	Troy
Linesville	Mill Hall	Wyalusing

South

Alabama

Arab	Fayette	Hartselle

Arkansas

Nashville	Tillar	

Delaware

Georgetown

Georgia

Bethlehem	Hampton	Pavo

Kentucky

Columbia	Marion	

Maryland

Thurmont

Mississippi

Brooksville	Poplarville	

North Carolina

Burgaw	Clarkton	Nashville
Carthage	Hertford	Pittsboro

South Carolina

Edgefield	St. Matthews	

Texas

Donna	Haskell	Waelder
Granger	Leonard	

Virginia

Berryville	Bowling Green	Smithfield

Middle West

Illinois

Eureka	Metamora	Oregon
Granville	Milford	West Salem

Indiana

Argos	Flora	Liberty
Centerville	Fowler	

Iowa		
Alta	Corning	Moville
Battle Creek	Grundy Center	Strawberry Point
Buffalo Center	La Porte City	Winfield
Bussey	Marathon	
Kansas		
Cheney	Marion	Oxford
Clearwater	Mount Hope	
Inman	Mulvane	
Michigan		
Grass Lake	Ovid	Scottville
Nashville		
Minnesota		
Blackduck	Litchfield	Windom
Elk River	Wells	
Missouri		
East Prairie	Lathrop	Warrenton
Hardin	Puxico	
Nebraska		
Fairfield	Humboldt	Walthill
Geneva	Stromsburg	Weeping Water
North Dakota		
Casselton	Mayville	Oakes
Grafton		
Wisconsin		
Arcadia	Fennimore	Mount Horeb
Barron	Medford	Waupaca
Elkhorn		
Far West		
California		
Banning	Fowler	Oakdale
Corning	Gridley	Paso Robles
Exeter	Lompoc	San Jacinto
Colorado		
Akron	Burlington	Delta
Idaho		
Emmett	Parma	
Oregon		
Clatskanie	Cottage Grove	Riddle
Condon		
Washington		
Ferndale	Goldendale	Ridgefield
Garfield		

21 COUNTIES

New England
Addison, Vermont
Middle Atlantic
Salem, New Jersey
Tompkins, New York
Columbia, Pennsylvania
South
Colbert, Alabama
Monroe, Georgia
Harford, Maryland
Durham, North Carolina
Orange, North Carolina
Blount, Tennessee
Rockwall, Texas

Middle West
Jennings, Indiana
Clay, Iowa
Sedgwick, Kansas
Price, Wisconsin
Sheboygan, Wisconsin
Far West
Orange, California
Stanislaus, California
Beaverhead, Montana
Pend Oreille, Washington
Sheridan, Wyoming

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[1] The Census cards for the 177 villages were tabulated by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

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Field Survey Workers[1]
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Dallas Mallinson
T. Lynn Smith
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Charles J. Bornman
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J. Edwin Losey
H. C. Dorn
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J. O. Rankin
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Irving Lorge
Elizabeth Hooker

Statisticians
Helena Dickinson—in charge of field-work statistics.
Irving Lorge—in charge of census.

Assistant Statisticians
George Fitts
Saul Nelson
Irene Barnes Tauber
Florence Ayers
Farrington Lattin
Margaret Nixon

Secretaries
Dorothy Osland Bunker
Rhoda B. Lawrence

[1] This list includes only the names of all those who surveyed seven or more of the 140 villages or two or more of the twenty-one counties, and those who made the intensive surveys of the five counties. The authors also shared in the field work. Localities not studied by these field workers were investigated by students or faculty members of the institutions noted above. Names are arranged in order of the amount of work done.

Appendix B

SOURCE DATA ON RURAL AND VILLAGE POPULATION

Appendix Table 2.—Native Born Rural-farm Population, by State of Birth and State of Residence, with Gain or Loss through Interstate Migration, 1930

State	Born in the specified state			Born in and living in the specified state	Living in the specified state			Gain (+) or loss (−) through interstate migration
	Total	Living in other states			Total	Born in other states		
		Number	Percent			Number	Percent	
United States	28,884,933	4,240,523	14.7	24,644,410	28,884,933	4,240,523	14.7	
New England:								
Maine	150,125	10,176	6.8	139,949	148,781	8,382	5.9	− 1,344
New Hampshire	45,555	9,248	20.3	36,307	49,049	12,742	26.0	+ 3,494
Vermont	96,916	12,507	12.9	84,409	99,215	14,806	14.9	+ 2,299
Massachusetts	82,943	29,109	35.1	53,834	64,968	11,134	17.1	− 17,975
Rhode Island	11,505	4,588	39.9	6,917	8,609	1,692	19.7	− 2,896
Connecticut	56,951	8,958	15.7	47,993	62,209	14,216	22.9	+ 5,258
Middle Atlantic:								
New York	671,153	88,265	13.2	582,888	640,021	57,133	8.9	− 31,132
New Jersey	94,566	17,873	18.9	76,693	101,187	24,494	24.2	+ 6,621
Pennsylvania	882,081	124,632	14.1	757,449	806,042	48,593	6.0	− 76,039
East North Central:								
Ohio	1,027,986	157,834	15.4	870,152	972,497	102,345	10.5	− 55,489
Indiana	841,958	146,598	17.4	695,360	797,169	101,809	12.8	− 44,789
Illinois	1,168,359	321,980	27.6	846,379	955,444	109,065	11.4	−212,915
Michigan	633,372	58,122	9.2	575,250	682,587	107,337	15.7	+ 49,215
Wisconsin	806,248	106,280	13.2	699,968	781,655	81,687	10.5	− 24,593
West North Central:								
Minnesota	758,583	123,420	16.3	635,163	771,580	136,417	17.7	+ 12,997
Iowa	1,049,459	271,285	25.8	778,174	908,322	130,148	14.3	−141,137
Missouri	1,191,230	292,044	24.5	899,186	1,094,086	195,500	17.9	− 96,544
North Dakota	289,364	41,981	14.5	247,383	333,277	85,894	25.8	+ 43,913
South Dakota	292,586	50,669	17.3	241,917	352,359	110,442	31.3	+ 59,773
Nebraska	555,912	121,445	21.8	434,467	541,898	107,431	19.8	− 14,014
Kansas	649,719	153,854	23.7	400,865	677,372	181,507	26.8	+ 27,653
South Atlantic:								
Delaware	41,480	5,758	31.9	35,722	45,023	9,301	20.7	+ 3,543
Maryland	223,663	23,744	10.6	199,919	232,128	32,209	13.9	+ 8,465
District of Columbia	4,785	4,785	100.0	.....	.....	.....	....	− 4,785
Virginia	977,474	90,196	9.2	887,278	945,203	57,925	6.1	− 31,271
West Virginia	475,587	59,847	12.6	415,740	445,876	30,136	6.8	− 29,711
North Carolina	1,623,100	98,600	6.1	1,524,500	1,596,029	71,529	4.5	− 27,071
South Carolina	949,244	67,909	7.2	881,335	913,662	32,327	3.5	− 35,582
Georgia	1,484,119	136,545	9.2	1,347,574	1,412,707	65,133	4.6	− 71,412
Florida	216,728	20,359	9.4	196,369	269,333	72,964	27.1	+ 52,605
East South Central:								
Kentucky	1,292,173	169,884	13.1	1,122,289	1,172,443	50,154	4.3	−119,730
Tennessee	1,343,320	218,103	16.2	1,125,217	1,211,299	86,082	7.1	−132,021
Alabama	1,427,679	178,399	12.5	1,249,280	1,333,555	84,275	6.3	− 94,124
Mississippi	1,434,867	170,234	11.9	1,264,633	1,357,797	93,164	6.9	− 77,070
West South Central:								
Arkansas	1,070,133	220,595	20.6	849,538	1,112,556	263,108	23.6	+ 42,423
Louisiana	820,949	71,254	8.7	749,695	822,395	72,700	8.8	+ 1,446
Oklahoma	692,616	120,788	17.4	571,828	1,009,480	437,652	43.4	+316,864
Texas	2,124,963	204,807	9.6	1,920,156	2,234,818	314,662	14.1	+109,855
Mountain:								
Montana	107,311	20,938	19.5	86,373	175,904	89,531	50.9	+ 68,593
Idaho	110,390	20,124	18.2	90,266	173,984	83,718	48.1	+ 63,594
Wyoming	37,637	11,627	30.9	26,010	67,072	41,062	61.2	+ 29,435
Colorado	164,840	37,409	22.7	127,431	257,316	129,885	50.5	+ 92,476
New Mexico	124,314	21,985	17.7	102,329	151,854	49,525	32.6	+ 27,540
Arizona	64,275	8,319	12.9	55,956	89,574	33,618	37.5	+ 25,299
Utah	119,107	27,786	23.3	91,321	100,580	9,259	9.2	− 18,527
Nevada	11,032	3,439	31.2	7,593	13,520	5,927	43.8	+ 2,488
Pacific:								
Washington	156,769	25,725	16.4	131,044	251,282	120,238	47.8	+ 94,513
Oregon	135,327	25,797	19.1	109,530	199,476	89,946	45.1	+ 64,149
California	294,480	24,699	8.4	269,781	441,140	171,359	38.8	+146,660

Note: The small number of persons for whom state of birth was not reported are omitted from this table.

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930; Population*, "State of Birth of Native Population," Table 31, Page 56.

APPENDIX TABLE 3.—NATIVE BORN RURAL FARM POPULATION BY DIVISION OF BIRTH AND DIVISION OF RESIDENCE, 1930

(Division of birth (in thousands))

Division of residence	United States	New England	Middle Atlantic	East No. Central	West No. Central	South Atlantic	East So. Central	West So. Central	Mountain	Pacific
United States	28,884.9	444.0	1,647.8	4,477.9	4,786.9	5,996.2	5,498.0	4,708.7	738.9	586.6
New England	432.8	408.6	18.0	2.5	1.3	1.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4
Middle Atlantic	1,547.3	10.6	1,473.4	22.4	8.6	27.3	1.8	1.0	1.3	0.9
East North Central	4,189.4	4.0	50.4	3,894.0	96.0	41.1	86.6	8.1	5.8	3.2
West North Central	4,679.5	5.0	36.1	292.0	4,170.8	21.2	60.1	60.4	26.1	7.9
South Atlantic	5,860.0	2.8	26.8	21.7	6.9	5,724.3	69.9	5.3	1.2	1.0
East South Central	5,075.1	0.4	2.3	25.1	8.8	90.7	4,906.5	39.7	0.9	0.7
West South Central	5,179.2	1.0	7.5	70.5	178.5	68.2	341.8	4,494.2	13.2	4.4
Mountain	1,029.8	2.9	12.5	65.9	184.5	10.7	15.7	65.3	650.5	21.9
Pacific	891.9	8.7	20.8	83.9	131.5	11.6	15.4	34.4	39.6	546.1

Source: Idem., page 61.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX TABLE 4.—NATIVE BORN RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION, BY STATE OF BIRTH AND STATE OF RESIDENCE, WITH GAIN OR LOSS THROUGH INTERSTATE MIGRATION, 1930

State	Born in the specified state			Born in and living in the specified state	Living in the specified state			Gain (+) or loss (−) through interstate migration
	Total	Living in other states			Total	Born in other states		
		Number	Percent			Number	Percent	
United States	21,833,222	5,061,728	23.2	16,771,494	21,833,222	5,061,728	23.2	
New England:								
Maine	289,752	35,879	12.4	254,873	279,607	25,734	9.2	− 10,145
New Hampshire	111,867	27,857	24.9	84,010	119,605	35,595	29.8	+ 7,738
Vermont	125,051	32,462	26.0	92,589	115,013	22,424	19.5	− 10,038
Massachusetts	327,022	100,966	30.9	226,056	277,690	51,634	18.6	− 49,332
Rhode Island	47,294	20,563	43.5	26,731	35,315	8,584	24.3	− 11,979
Connecticut	260,492	32,091	12.3	228,401	314,879	86,478	27.5	+ 54,387
Middle Atlantic:								
New York	1,252,455	242,244	19.3	1,010,211	1,168,024	157,813	13.5	− 84,431
New Jersey	391,674	59,666	15.2	332,008	500,219	168,211	33.6	+108,545
Pennsylvania	2,179,157	321,652	14.8	1,857,505	2,021,222	163,717	8.1	−157,935
East North Central:								
Ohio	1,111,766	233,975	21.0	877,791	1,072,254	194,463	18.1	− 39,512
Indiana	685,761	177,291	25.9	508,470	617,901	109,431	17.7	− 67,800
Illinois	1,043,706	315,208	30.2	728,498	914,759	186,261	20.4	−128,947
Michigan	628,554	102,146	16.3	526,408	673,219	146,811	21.8	+ 44,665
Wisconsin	514,997	130,300	25.3	384,697	451,578	66,881	14.8	− 63,419
West North Central:								
Minnesota	401,749	123,994	30.9	277,755	355,050	77,295	21.8	− 46,699
Iowa	586,233	214,579	36.6	371,654	483,145	111,491	23.1	−103,088
Missouri	793,049	290,519	36.6	502,530	643,894	141,364	22.0	−149,155
North Dakota	129,356	39,210	30.3	90,146	142,126	51,980	36.6	+ 12,770
South Dakota	130,353	42,170	32.4	88,183	153,606	65,423	42.6	+ 23,253
Nebraska	275,714	92,657	33.6	183,057	280,114	97,057	34.6	+ 4,400
Kansas	397,100	148,968	37.5	248,132	419,011	170,879	40.8	+ 21,911
South Atlantic:								
Delaware	60,692	14,488	23.9	46,204	66,351	20,147	30.4	+ 5,659
Maryland	371,354	61,218	16.5	310,136	406,468	96,332	23.7	+ 35,114
District of Columbia	31,679	31,679	100.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	− 31,679
Virginia	768,524	193,584	25.2	574,940	681,088	106,148	15.6	− 87,436
West Virginia	678,630	101,845	15.0	576,785	759,463	182,678	24.1	+ 80,833
North Carolina	800,258	123,612	15.4	676,646	760,248	83,602	11.0	− 40,010
South Carolina	483,792	88,309	18.3	395,483	452,093	56,610	12.5	− 31,699
Georgia	701,886	181,874	25.9	520,012	595,874	75,862	12.7	−106,012
Florida	265,453	29,478	11.1	235,975	421,083	185,108	44.0	+155,630
East South Central:								
Kentucky	746,786	201,523	27.0	545,263	636,271	91,008	14.3	−110,515
Tennessee	628,539	191,852	30.5	436,687	503,381	66,694	13.2	−125,158
Alabama	634,433	147,587	23.3	486,846	561,987	75,141	13.4	− 72,446
Mississippi	358,464	96,492	26.9	261,972	307,913	45,941	14.9	− 50,551
West South Central:								
Arkansas	393,908	146,541	37.2	247,367	351,014	103,647	29.5	− 42,894
Louisiana	447,878	71,373	15.9	376,505	435,718	59,213	13.6	− 12,160
Oklahoma	377,526	106,168	28.1	271,358	543,001	271,643	50.0	+165,475
Texas	966,119	165,285	17.1	800,834	1,029,628	228,794	22.2	+ 63,509
Mountain:								
Montana	89,438	28,269	31.6	61,169	130,176	69,007	53.0	+ 40,738
Idaho	81,718	29,431	36.0	52,287	117,176	64,889	55.4	+ 35,458
Wyoming	38,461	13,589	35.3	24,872	72,691	47,819	65.8	+ 34,230
Colorado	155,273	54,238	34.9	101,035	210,102	109,067	51.9	+ 54,829
New Mexico	133,601	31,092	23.3	102,509	146,320	43,811	29.9	+ 12,719
Arizona	80,656	14,847	18.4	65,809	153,955	88,146	57.3	+ 73,299
Utah	138,001	32,811	23.8	105,190	122,045	16,855	13.8	− 15,956
Nevada	18,798	6,215	33.1	12,583	32,799	20,216	61.6	+ 14,001
Pacific:								
Washington	183,469	39,247	21.4	144,222	319,110	174,888	54.8	+135,641
Oregon	135,895	36,424	26.8	99,471	217,071	117,600	54.2	+ 81,176
California	378,889	38,260	10.1	34,629	761,965	421,336	55.3	+383,076

Source: Idem., p. 56.

APPENDIX TABLE 5.—NATIVE BORN RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION BY DIVISION OF BIRTH AND DIVISION OF RESIDENCE, 1930

(Division of birth (in thousands))

Division of residence	United States	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific
United States.....	21,833.2	1,161.5	3,823.3	3,984.8	2,713.6	4,162.3	2,368.2	2,185.4	735.9	698.3
New England.....	1,142.1	1,048.1	68.3	9.5	4.1	7.2	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.4
Middle Atlantic.....	3,689.5	49.5	3,424.3	58.9	16.8	112.2	15.7	5.0	3.5	3.6
East North Central .	3,729.7	11.3	103.2	3,283.0	116.8	67.5	117.1	17.6	7.8	5.3
West North Central..	2,476.9	7.6	41.9	244.5	2,051.1	18.4	37.9	49.2	19.8	6.5
South Atlantic.....	4,142.7	15.0	90.8	61.3	17.0	3,792.1	145.5	15.3	2.9	2.8
East South Central..	2,009.6	1.3	5.8	31.0	8.6	88.3	1,846.5	25.9	1.1	1.0
West South Central..	2,359.4	2.2	13.4	62.3	129.8	41.2	155.9	1,938.7	11.7	4.2
Mountain.....	985.3	5.3	21.1	75.5	153.0	13.4	19.4	65.3	603.9	28.3
Pacific.....	1,298.1	21.0	54.4	158.7	216.4	22.0	28.7	67.6	84.3	645.1

Source: Idem., p. 65.

APPENDIX TABLE 6.—NUMERICAL INCREASE AND DECREASE IN POPULATION FROM 1910 TO 1920 OF INCORPORATED VILLAGES OF 750 TO 850 POPULATION

Division and state	No. of villages	(Groups of one hundred)																						
		−7	−6	−5	−4	−3	−2	−1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7	+8	+9	+10	+11	+12	+13	+14	15 and over
All villages	516	2	2		6	7	33	76	130	114	65	33	12	13	9	2	4	1		2	1	1	1	2
Middle Atlantic:	61				1		7	8	22	7	6	4	1	1	3	1								
New York	19				1		5	4	6	1	1					1								
New Jersey	7								1	2	2				1									
Pennsylvania	35						2	4	15	4	3	3	1	1	2									
East North Central:	124		2		2		10	22	38	23	17	5	3	1	1									
Ohio	29						2	4	11	6	4	1	1											
Indiana	19						1	5	4	5	2	1	1											
Illinois	37		2				5	7	10	7	4	2												
Michigan	23				2		2	4	8	2	3	1		1										
Wisconsin	16							2	5	3	4		1		1									
West North Central:	124						8	13	36	39	16	7	2	2	1									
Minnesota	21							2	7	5	4	2			1									
Iowa	30							2	1	10	6	1												
Missouri	23						4	3	6	8	1		1											
North Dakota	7							1	1	3	1			1										
South Dakota	3							1		4	1	2												
Nebraska	18						1	2	5	6	2	2	1	1										
Kansas	17						3	2	8	3	1													
South Atlantic:	71	1			1		1	12	18	10	3	3	2	5	2		1				1	1		
Delaware	1									1														
Maryland	5						1		2		1	1												
Virginia	7							2	1	1	1	1		1										
West Virginia	13							2	2	1	3	1	1	2	1									
North Carolina	21							3	5	5	1	4	1	1	1									
South Carolina	5								2	1	2													
Georgia	12	1			1			4	5			1												
Florida	7							1	1	1				1			1				1	1		
East South Central:	36					1	3	5	7	12	3	4					1							
Kentucky	8							2	3	2		1												
Tennessee	9					1	1		3	2	1	1												
Alabama	8							2		3	2						1							
Mississippi	11						2	1	1	5		2												
West South Central:	54				2	2	4	11	6	9	7	4	2	1	2	1				2				1
Arkansas	13					1	2	3	1	4					1	1								
Louisiana	9				1	1		1	1		1	1	1	1						1				
Oklahoma	16				1		2	3	2	2	1	2	1							1				1
Texas	16							4	2	3	5	1			1									
Mountain:	20	1				1		1	3	6	3		1	2			1						1	
Montana	4									2			1										1	
Idaho																								
Wyoming																								
Colorado	8	1							2	4	1													
New Mexico	2					1		1																
Arizona																								
Utah	6								1		2			2			1							
Nevada																								
Pacific:	26					3		4		3	5	1	1	1			1	1						1
Washington	12					1		2		4	2	1	1	1										
Oregon	4					1		1		2														
California	10					1		1		2	3						1	1						1

Note: This table is included to illustrate for one 100-group population increase and decrease by units of 100, as explained in the text.

(*To face p. 324.*)

APPENDIX TABLE 8.—NUMERICAL INCREASE AND DECREASE IN POPULATION FROM 1910 TO 1920 OF THE 8,900 INCORPORATED VILLAGES,* BY SIZE OF VILLAGE

| Population in 1910 | Total | (Groups of one hundred) | | |

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX TABLE 7.—BIRTH RATE PER 1,000 FOR TOTAL, FARM AND RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION IN 1930, BY DIVISION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Census division	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Total population				
All divisions	15.7	17.8	18.7	19.1	20.1
Middle Atlantic	15.9	16.8	17.6	18.6	*
South	16.7	20.6	21.5	22.4	23.8
Old South	16.7	20.9	21.9	23.0	26.8
South West	16.8	20.0	20.8	21.5	22.3
Middle West	16.2	17.2	17.7	18.1	20.2
East North Central	16.0	16.7	17.0	17.2	16.9
West North Central	16.3	17.7	18.3	18.6	21.3
Far West	10.6	12.6	15.0	14.2	14.5
	Rural farm population				
All divisions	16.9	18.4	19.5	19.4	20.9
Middle Atlantic	16.2	17.9	17.9	18.3	*
†South	18.7	21.3	22.3	22.8	25.2
Old South	18.8	21.1	21.9	23.5	26.7
South West	18.6	21.8	23.2	21.7	24.4
Middle West	17.1	18.0	19.1	19.0	21.5
East North Central	14.4	16.1	18.4	17.4	18.6
West North Central	19.1	19.4	19.7	19.7	22.5
Far West	11.5	11.7	14.8	13.4	13.2
	Rural non-farm population				
All divisions	18.5	18.1	19.2	19.8	19.6
Middle Atlantic	18.9	18.3	18.9	20.5	*
South	19.2	21.1	22.9	24.5	23.3
Old South	18.9	22.7	24.3	24.7	26.9
South West	19.9	17.8	20.2	24.2	21.6
Middle West	19.0	16.8	17.0	17.1	18.6
East North Central	20.6	17.9	16.4	16.9	15.4
West North Central	17.7	16.0	17.3	17.2	17.7
Far West	13.7	13.6	16.1	15.4	15.8

* No Tier 4 counties in Middle Atlantic division.

† This analysis shows that the East North Central areas decline in the number of effective births from tier to tier among the rural non-farm group as one goes outward from the City County, whereas the Old South increases sharply, out from tier to tier, indicating that the Old South, even in its rural non-farm population, is made up essentially of a farm group in tradition, custom and culture, whereas in the East North Central areas the rural non-farm population is distinctly different from the rural farm population.

Appendix C

SPECIAL CASE-STUDIES SHOWING TENDENCIES REGARDING NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGES

INTENSIVE restudies of local situations in four states, where neighborhood surveys had previously been made, show tendencies similar to those found in the 140 communities, though every situation has, of course, its own local variations. In each case, both the first and the second studies were made under the supervision of the same man; and, as nearly as possible, the same methods of study were employed.

The case of *Boone County, Missouri*, first studied in 1924 and again in 1931, will be considered first.[1] By a preliminary check with returns in hand from 20 percent of the farm families in the county, there is evidence that 40 of the original 59 neighborhoods are still locally recognized. There is likewise some evidence of the appearance of 15 new neighborhoods; however, since eight of them are also school district names, there is some doubt as to their neighborhood significance. Although two highways, that run across the whole county and intersect near its center, have been concreted, 30.9 percent of the farms are on improved dirt roads and 48.2 percent are on unimproved dirt roads. In the country away from the larger community centers and off the pavement, the country store continues to hold its place in the informal social life of the people.

In the earlier study, the district school was counted the most important institution in its relation to local group consciousness. Seemingly its influence is continuing, since there has been but one additional consolidation, which brings the total to three. The country church, although declining in numbers and activities, persists as a local institution, even when no longer served by a pastor. Its women's societies and organizations tend to continue active. There has been little change in the larger community arrangements, although there is a tendency for farm people to frequent the larger centers for business purposes. However, for their own social affairs or their meetings regarding agricultural extension activities, they prefer the local neighborhood centers. In fact, during the year just prior to the last study there was a tendency for more social and home-talent activities to center in the local groups.

One particularly interesting conclusion came from the studies in this Missouri county which is quite in line with other studies of the communi-

[1] Morgan and Howels, *Rural Population Groups*, (Columbia; University of Missouri Agricultural Experimental Station, 1925). Research Bulletin 74.

cation and social-contact changes of local people. It is to the effect that the local visiting contacts of country people are more frequent than those outside their locality, or than those of an organizational or special interest character. It is suggested also that these contacts may be considered a fair measure of neighborliness or of neighborhood solidarity. In a careful recording of all social contacts for the people of a village center and each of the surrounding eleven school districts, it was found that the per capita visiting contacts for the village was 170; for districts adjacent to the village, 108; and for districts not adjacent, 126. As was noted in connection with the 140 communities, distance from village center does seem to be important. Furthermore, it was pointed out that the local visiting contacts were 2.7 times as numerous as were the special interest contacts, both inside and outside the district; and that special-interest or oganization contacts are more likely to be outside than inside the district in a ratio of 3 to 2. Therefore, as has been suggested, locality and special-organization or group arrangements may develop together. The improved facilities for communication and travel may increase outside contacts; but they may increase the local ones at even a greater rate.

A second local restudy concerned one specially strong neighborhood in *Blackhawk County, Iowa.* Careful studies were made of this neighborhood in 1915, 1920 and 1930.[1] This group was made up of a large majority of the 175 families living in one township that had common nationality backgrounds. Its people were members of the same country church. Changes have come in the fifteen years; but, with all, the group continues. Its church-membership has increased; although, interestingly enough, its policies have been somewhat liberalized, so that the proportion of those in the membership of other than the original nationality stock has increased. Other churches are represented by membership in the township area; so that, with its new church and consolidated school, this group, like others to which reference has been made, is really more of an institutionally-centered group than it was formerly. It should be added that children of one of the other increasing church groups attend parochial school in the next township.

This is a neighborhood of truly wonderful farms and farm homes with all the modern conveniences. Sixty-two percent have tractors, as compared with 31 percent for the whole county. Ninety-six percent have automobiles, as compared with 91 percent for the county. Forty percent have running water in the house, 73 percent have electric lights. The agricultural distress, however, has caused many serious problems in this

[1] von Tungelen, Geo. H., Brindley, W. A., Hawthorn, H. B., *Rural Social Survey of Orange Township, Blackhawk, Co., Iowa* (Ames; Iowa State College Bulletin 193, March 1923); von Tungeln, Geo. H., Eells, H. L., *Rural Social Survey of Hudson, Orange and Jessup Consolidated School Districts, Blackhawk and Buchanan Counties, Iowa* (Ames; Iowa State College Bulletin 224, November 1924).

neighborhood. Farms were lost to families in whose possession they had been for a long time. Tenancy increased to 52 percent from 39 percent fifteen years previously, and the ages of both owners and renters had increased several years on the average. Moreover, the desire for ownership on the part of the tenants, as a goal toward which family effort should be directed, was greatly reduced. On the other hand, it had been a compelling motive in the past. It went much beyond mere ownership to the ambition for large houses and barns with the best of modern equipment and yards with fine lawns and beautiful trees. The tenants agreed that they were doing better financially than the owners, that ownership under present conditions was too arduous and prevented freedom of movement which they wished to preserve. The tenant families were like the owners in most important regards such as education, church relations, possession of books, newspapers and automobiles. This would naturally be expected, since practically 50 percent of them were related by kinship or marriage to the owners, a percentage even higher than fifteen years before. They had become the recipients of the earlier farm-ownership and improvement ideal. They lived in as large houses; and, in proportion to their numbers, had more of the conveniences and equipment. However, with the desire and means for ownership cut off, it is difficult to foresee permanence for the neighborhood group and its institutions.

Otsego County, New York, is a third local area in which neighborhood studies were made in 1921 and again in 1931.[1] Reports were received from 40 percent of the farm families in the county; and these, together with personal visits to the localities, showed that of the 22 more important open-country neighborhoods found in the first study, six had given up any form of common activity, five were much weaker, and one had been mostly absorbed by a nearby city. However, 12 were considered sufficiently active to warrant analysis. The report of the restudy suggests that neighborhood centers are becoming more and more organizational and institutional centers, and that membership in the local organizations and institutions is not so largely confined to the immediate locality as was the case formerly.

A second type of neighborhood in this county is the hamlet-centered group. In the latter study, 18 of these were located and examined. Seven of the 18 hamlets, however, were classed as village communities in the earlier study; but they did not seem to justify such a classification in 1931. They were all of less than 100 population, each had a general store, post office, church, grade school, and in some cases a Grange hall. The number of services rendered as well as their variety was too small to warrant classifying these places as communities. The same tendency to settle back into another status has already been noted in the report of the study

[1] Sanderson and Thompson, *Social Areas of Otsego County* (Ithaca; Cornell University Agricultural Experimental Station, 1923) Bulletin 422.

of the 140 communities. The relation of the Otsego neighborhoods to the institutions about which they center is seen from examination of Appendix Table 9.

APPENDIX TABLE 9.—ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF OTSEGO COUNTY, N. Y. IN 1930

	Church	Grange	Home Bureau	Social club
Open country				
Total	7	5	4	1
Rogers Hollow	X	X	X	
Fly Creek Valley	X	X	X	
Lena		X	X	
Whigs Corner				X
Pierstown		X		
South Side Oneonta			X	
Emmons	X			
West Branch	X			
Sand Hill	X			
Christian Hill		X		
Unadilla Center	X			
Ketchum	X			
Hamlets				
Total	17	5	3	2
Middlefield Center	X			
Westville	X	X	X	
Richfield	X	X	X	X
Burlington	X	X		
West Laurens	X	X		
New Lisbon	X			X
South Valley	X			
Decatur	X			
Exeter	X			
West Burlington	X			
Milford Center	X			
Maple Grove	X			
Pittsfield			X	
Hartwick Seminary	X			
Hyde Park	X			
South Worcester	X			
Elk Creek	X	X		
Cooperstown Junction	X			

Country churches have been a focal point for neighborhood organization in this county, as the table indicates. Their number and strength are, however, apparently on the decline, as they are usually served by nonresident pastors who appear once per week or less frequently for the preaching services. The average attendance at such churches varies from about 8 to 25 people. They are slowly being forced to close their doors.

One other comparison points to similar trends, as noted previously; namely, that there is a tendency for neighborhoods to appear in the community areas of the larger villages or small cities. For example, in the

communities of villages of less than 1,000 population there was three-fourths of a neighborhood per community, while for the areas around places of over 2,500 population there were five neighborhoods per area.

The conclusion from the restudy of this eastern county seems plain, to the effect that neighborhoods as such are of decreasing importance. The disorganization has been associated with the decline in country population and the abandonment of farms. However, this decreasing importance does not necessarily mean, the report suggests, that there is a corresponding decrease in the neighborliness of farm people, though in some instances this may undoubtedly be true. This represents an interesting finding in view of the conclusions reached in the Missouri study of social contacts. It is also associated with the trend toward the reorganization of rural life on the basis of larger areas and around special organization plans, the Otsego County report further explains. Much of local group activity is centered in, and stimulated by, such outside connections as the Grange, Home Bureau, Junior 4-H clubs or church societies. The tendency toward the organization of rural life on a scale of larger areas is further shown by the organization of central rural school districts in the county. Nine of these were organized in the ten years between the two studies. The buildings for these schools are located in the villages. In addition, five other similar district plans are proposed. The formation of these five, together with those already in existence and those formed in adjoining counties, will mean that the majority of the common-school districts of the county will be included in some larger-unit plan. Depending on the wishes of the people, the local country school may or may not be maintained for the first six grades; but beginning with the Junior High School or seventh grade, all pupils will be transported to the central school. A striking similarity was found between the country-service areas of the 14 larger centers in the county and the high-school areas. In fact, with two or three exceptions, the areas of the central-school districts already established coincide very closely with the service-areas of the larger village centers in which the school buildings are located. This confirms evidence of the importance which the high school has in modern rural life, to which repeated reference has been made in this study of rural social trends.

The Otsego report continues by pointing out that in this larger school arrangement, country children are sure to form friendships that in time will tend to weaken neighborhood activity and strengthen the connection of the country with the village centers. Organizations serving young people tend to be located in such centers also. For example, 14 of the 24 Grange halls in the county are located in villages; 23 of the 30 Home Bureau centers are in villages; and 31 of the 42 Farm Bureau centers are also in villages. Similar tendencies were found in many of the 140 villages. With such a concentration of educational and agricultural life, it seems

logical to expect the decline of neighborhood and the increase of the larger community plan of rural group organization in counties of the type of Otsego.

Finally, the *Dane County, Wisconsin*, restudy in 1931, after a lapse of ten years since the first study, shows that about half the 89 active neighborhoods can still be classed in the clearly active category.[1] The other half are in various stages, ranging all the way from complete disintegration to border-line cases. There were about eight new groups, four of which represent revivals from former inactivity, which became candidates for the clearly active category in the restudy.

With about 2,400 schedules secured through the country schools, a sample of 40 percent of the farm families of the county, it was interesting to find from an analysis of the western half of the county that 51.1 percent in 1921, and 51.2 percent in 1931, included a name in answer to the question intended to detect the presence of a possible neighborhood. The question read, "By what name is the country neighborhood called in which you live?" Of 282 identical families, 46 percent answered with a locality name in 1921, and 51 percent in 1931. The recognition of a name may mean little, however, as subsequent field work showed, respecting the presence of a really active local group. It does represent, however, some traditional significance; but, more particularly, it shows that in this county many local names had been taken over by schools and made the official school-district names. This took place shortly after the 1921 study.

Of the factors holding together the clearly active groups, those of a religious character ranked a decided first. In this county, the settlement had been quite largely by different nationality groups of differing religious convictions. Some of the nationality bonds, including the use of the foreign language, have considerably diminished in their strength; but the group-solidarity motive has found release in the establishment of religious organizations and agencies. This was also the high factor in 1921. Only two fewer country churches were found in the later study (one had been reopened just before the time of this restudy), though at least three churches were each joined with a nearby village church of the same kind in a single congregational form of organization. Common activity through local economic organizations, as in a creamery, a cheese factory, or a shipping association was less frequently found than formerly. Educational interest and educational activity as neighborhood integrating factors were less effective than before. There was less common activity centered in the local school as such. In fact, half of the old neighborhoods classed as inactive in the restudy formerly had the school or educational factor as primary. Despite this situation, school district lines coincided with neighborhood-group boundaries even more frequently than formerly.

[1] Kolb, J. H., *Rural Primary Groups* (Madison; University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experimental Station, 1921), Research Bulletin 51.

Likewise, the school district was more frequently a convenient unit employed by outside organization leaders for such special-interest groups as junior 4 H clubs, mothers' clubs, health units, or drama and music groups. Apparently the country school is becoming less important as the common center for group activity, but continues to be a useful unit in the dividing of territory for the smaller and more specialized group interests.

The social factor in the sense of informal sociability, and of organized social or recreational activity, rose to a place of considerably more importance than at the time of the first study. The relation of neighborhoods to local social institutions may now be summarized by the use of Appendix Table 10.

Appendix Table 10.—Institutions in the Neighborhoods of Dane County, Wisconsin

Institution	Total		Eastern		Western	
	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931
Church	40	37	20	18	20	19
Creamery or cheese factory	33	19	10	5	23	14
Post Office	2	2	2	2		
School (public)	93	78	43	38	50	40
School (parochial)	6	7	1	2	5	5
Store or shop	43	38	21	21	22	17

This table is made by taking the 89 neighborhoods active in 1921 and comparing the institutions that were found in them in 1921 and in 1931. The school and church and store are clearly in the majority. This again checks very closely with the results of the restudy of the 140 communities analyzed previously. Each institution is tending to weaken, the church and its agencies least. The replies of the 282 identical families indicate that the neighborhood is also becoming less of a center for trade and for social-organization meetings.

Two further similarities with the other studies, particularly those of the New York county and the 140 communities, can be recorded. Some of the smaller villages were settling back to hamlets, and serving a restricted area with a limited number of services. Likewise the significance of the village high school in the reorganizing of local group life, especially among the country's young people and including the younger married people, was very pronounced.

Appendix D

SOURCE DATA ON RURAL-URBAN RELATIONS

THIS appendix reports the general methodology employed to develop the facts and relationships reported in Chapter V, on rural and urban relationships. Eighteen areas were selected as representative of rural-urban complexes. To determine the interrelationships existing between the urban center and concentric circles of rurality, the counties in each of the eighteen areas were tiered as suggested in Chapter V. Then, since it was determined in which tier a county was to be considered, data were collected for 1910, 1920, and 1930 wherever comparability, *i.e.*, of census data, was demonstrated on various demographic, agricultural and economic figures by county, by tier and by area from the United States census for those years. In some instances the 1930 data represent first releases and are subject to some error.[1] Many comparisons planned had to be dropped because of changes in methods of enumeration or classification by the census. This lack of comparability in certain significant items is unfortunate from the point of view of measuring social and economic change in rural America.

Since the counties varied in size, it was essential to reference all the data in the same unit. All the data are, therefore, reported as per acre, or per farm, or per total population, etc. This referencing of each variable to a third yielded an index number for each county and for each tier in each area. For statistical averages, it was decided that the best average for a tier for any specific area was a weighted average of each county in the tier. When these weighted tier averages for any one area were put together, however, for the purpose of obtaining the regional and total averages, each tier-area average was given a weight of one, so as not to bias the data unduly.

The regional tables of this appendix thus represent unweighted averages of all the tiers in each region and the unweighted average of all the tiers in the total eighteen areas, whereas the tier means, *i.e.*, mean averages as against modes or medians, in any one area are the weighted averages of the county data. The data itself was read on specially prepared charts, checked and cross-checked before additions and divisions were made.

This appendix was prepared by Dr. Irving Lorge who derived the detailed methodology involved.

[1] There is very small likelihood that there is any significant error in these data outside that inherent in the original census reports.

APPENDIX TABLE 11.—PROPORTION OF MALES SINGLE IN THE TOTAL MALE POPULATION AND PROPORTION OF FEMALES SINGLE IN THE TOTAL FEMALE POPULATION IN 1930, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
Male	32.0	33.9	33.7	33.5	35.8
Female	26.2	25.3	24.9	24.4	24.5
Middle Atlantic					
Male	30.2	30.9	31.3	29.8	
Female	25.6	24.8	24.6	24.1	
South					
Male	31.4	34.3	33.4	32.3	30.8
Female	25.4	25.9	26.0	24.5	23.5
Middle West					
Male	32.4	34.0	33.5	34.0	38.4
Female	27.7	25.9	25.2	25.6	27.2
Far West					
Male	30.4	36.8	38.7	38.9	38.3
Female	24.4	21.9	21.4	20.5	20.5

APPENDIX TABLE 12.—RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 TO WOMEN 20 TO 45 YEARS OF AGE IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1910	93.5	133.5	139.7	141.8	156.9
1920	90.8	125.8	134.1	136.2	142.8
1930	84.7	119.6	125.2	124.2	126.0
Middle Atlantic					
1910	88.0	108.1	118.8	118.4	
1920	94.3	113.2	124.9	127.0	
1930	95.3	112.5	122.1	122.9	
South					
1910	104.4	168.8	173.2	177.3	181.7
1920	94.0	149.1	159.4	162.2	152.5
1930	88.8	143.2	147.0	144.9	136.9
Middle West					
1910	94.2	121.1	127.1	127.6	155.3
1920	92.4	117.0	122.4	124.6	147.5
1930	83.4	109.1	113.2	114.5	128.7
Far West					
1910	66.2	108.9	114.7	119.0	122.9
1920	70.4	106.1	113.0	115.3	118.9
1930	61.5	95.9	106.7	102.5	104.2

APPENDIX D

Appendix Table 13.—Rural Children under 10 in Total Population, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1910	19.2	22.7	23.4	23.9	25.5
1920	19.1	22.1	22.8	23.2	23.8
1930	17.7	20.2	20.9	21.0	21.6
Middle Atlantic					
1910	17.7	19.6	20.4	21.2	
1920	18.8	19.7	20.7	21.5	
1930	18.4	19.1	20.0	20.4	
South					
1910	21.8	27.6	28.4	28.7	29.3
1920	20.1	26.0	26.6	26.7	25.8
1930	19.2	23.4	24.2	24.5	24.5
Middle West					
1910	19.2	21.2	21.9	22.4	25.5
1920	19.3	20.9	21.5	22.1	24.5
1930	17.4	19.2	19.4	19.8	21.5
Far West					
1910	13.9	18.1	18.2	18.9	19.8
1920	15.4	18.3	19.1	19.2	19.4
1930	13.1	15.9	17.2	16.6	17.5

Appendix Table 14.—Proportion 10 to 21 Years of Age in the Total Population, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1910	20.7	22.8	22.9	23.1	23.4
1920	19.5	21.8	22.0	21.9	22.4
1930	19.7	22.2	22.4	22.4	22.5
Middle Atlantic					
1910	19.7	20.2	21.1	20.9	
1920	18.1	19.5	20.1	20.1	
1930	19.0	20.0	20.6	21.2	
South					
1910	22.6	25.4	25.2	25.5	25.5
1920	22.1	25.4	25.3	24.9	23.8
1930	21.7	25.9	25.7	25.2	24.1
Middle West					
1910	20.8	22.4	22.6	22.7	23.4
1920	19.1	20.7	21.0	21.0	23.8
1930	19.3	20.8	21.2	21.6	22.7
Far West					
1910	16.5	19.8	19.8	20.4	20.4
1920	15.7	18.6	18.8	18.8	19.7
1930	16.4	19.4	19.6	19.4	19.6

APPENDIX TABLE 15.—PROPORTION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All regions					
1910	60.1	54.5	53.7	53.0	51.1
1920	61.4	56.0	55.1	55.0	53.8
1930	62.6	57.6	56.7	56.6	55.9
Middle Atlantic					
1910	62.6	60.2	58.5	57.9	
1920	63.1	60.8	59.2	58.4	
1930	62.6	60.9	59.4	58.4	
South					
1910	55.6	47.0	46.4	45.8	45.2
1920	57.9	48.6	48.1	48.4	50.4
1930	59.1	50.7	50.1	50.3	51.4
Middle West					
1910	60.0	56.4	55.5	54.9	51.1
1920	61.6	58.3	57.4	56.9	52.8
1930	63.3	60.0	59.4	58.6	55.8
Far West					
1910	69.6	62.1	62.0	60.7	59.8
1920	69.0	63.1	62.1	62.1	60.9
1930	70.5	64.7	63.2	64.0	62.9

APPENDIX TABLE 16.—RATIO OF MALES TO 100 FEMALES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All regions					
1910	105.1	107.8	108.1	110.4	116.4
1920	100.8	105.3	105.4	107.5	114.5
1930	98.1	104.8	104.8	106.2	110.4
Middle Atlantic					
1910	98.5	100.7	99.3	103.3	
1920	99.3	100.0	99.9	102.1	
1930	98.0	100.4	101.7	101.5	
South					
1910	98.5	103.3	102.7	104.0	106.3
1920	98.1	102.4	102.2	104.4	113.5
1930	94.3	103.0	100.9	102.4	102.0
Middle West					
1910	106.5	108.7	107.6	110.0	115.7
1920	101.4	106.4	105.4	106.8	110.4
1930	99.4	105.3	104.9	105.5	110.4
Far West					
1910	129.7	128.2	139.3	134.5	133.1
1920	109.6	118.3	123.1	122.9	124.2
1930	105.4	114.8	120.6	122.6	122.9

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX TABLE 17.—RATIO OF MALES TO 100 FEMALES IN THE RURAL FARM AND NON-FARM POPULATION IN 1930, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
	Rural farm				
All regions	114.7	113.5	112.3	114.5	118.7
Middle Atlantic	115.1	114.9	111.6	114.0	
South	104.9	106.0	105.1	106.1	107.2
Middle West	117.4	115.6	114.5	116.1	119.0
Far West	134.2	126.8	127.4	131.5	135.4
	Rural non-farm				
All regions	111.0	103.1	101.5	103.4	104.7
Middle Atlantic	101.3	98.6	97.9	99.1	
South	110.0	102.1	96.7	98.5	98.4
Middle West	112.6	101.0	99.2	102.1	100.3
Far West	123.5	119.7	125.5	123.7	123.1

APPENDIX TABLE 18.—PROPORTION OF THE 7–13 AGE GROUP IN SCHOOL IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1920	93.3	90.6	90.7	91.0	88.6
1930	96.5	94.9	94.5	95.0	95.2
Middle Atlantic					
1920	96.1	95.4	92.8	94.5	
1930	97.5	97.1	96.8	96.9	
South					
1920	88.2	82.1	83.8	83.9	83.3
1930	93.3	89.1	88.1	89.6	90.3
Middle West					
1920	95.8	94.6	95.0	95.1	90.0
1930	98.5	98.2	98.1	98.1	97.7
Far West					
1920	95.6	94.5	93.1	92.9	93.6
1930	97.5	97.5	97.6	97.1	97.6

APPENDIX TABLE 19.—PROPORTION OF THE 14 AND 15 AGE GROUP IN SCHOOL IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1920	85.2	83.6	84.7	84.6	84.1
1930	92.7	88.8	88.6	89.1	89.3
Middle Atlantic					
1920	87.3	84.1	87.8	85.9	
1930	95.1	92.9	94.3	91.2	
South					
1920	79.1	78.2	78.3	80.4	79.7
1930	87.0	82.7	80.5	83.7	86.4
Middle West					
1920	88.1	86.5	87.4	86.1	85.0
1930	95.4	90.5	91.4	91.2	89.0
Far West					
1920	90.0	88.8	89.6	89.1	89.2
1930	96.6	94.7	94.7	94.2	94.4

APPENDIX TABLE 20.—PROPORTION OF THE 16 AND 17 AGE GROUP IN SCHOOL IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1920	46.8	49.1	51.4	52.2	54.3
1930	65.4	61.5	60.2	62.7	64.6
Middle Atlantic					
1920	37.8	40.9	43.6	40.7	
1930	58.3	58.1	54.8	54.4	
South					
1920	45.9	51.9	51.8	54.8	52.6
1930	57.3	55.8	53.5	56.2	62.6
Middle West					
1920	49.3	49.2	52.3	52.0	55.2
1930	71.0	64.1	65.3	67.5	62.1
Far West					
1920	54.4	52.7	59.0	58.2	55.0
1930	81.2	74.5	70.8	72.8	72.8

APPENDIX D

Appendix Table 21.—Proportion of the 18–20 Age Group in School, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Middle Atlantic					
1910	13.3	19.3	24.4	17.2	
1920	12.2	14.1	16.6	14.1	
1930	19.5	22.8	20.6	19.6	
South					
1910	14.1	19.1	19.1	20.0	24.8
1920	15.3	18.5	18.3	20.2	19.0
1930	22.4	21.7	20.0	21.4	25.7
Middle West					
1910	17.0	18.7	19.0	19.4	17.4
1920	19.3	18.1	18.4	18.0	21.3
1930	28.4	24.8	25.2	26.2	27.9
Far West					
1910	15.9	16.6	17.9	18.2	22.5
1920	22.9	20.4	23.1	22.1	23.8
1930	33.5	32.3	28.8	29.4	35.0

AGRICULTURE

Appendix Table 22.—Proportion in Farms of All Land Areas, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All regions					
1910	74.5	78.6	76.9	73.9	65.4
1920	70.7	76.0	75.8	73.4	65.7
1930	65.2	72.5	73.5	71.6	66.6
Middle Atlantic					
1910	67.1	69.4	77.3	63.4	
1920	64.2	67.2	75.1	58.8	
1930	56.2	60.2	67.1	54.6	
South					
1910	70.2	75.4	72.6	74.0	70.4
1920	61.9	71.1	68.9	71.8	64.6
1930	56.5	64.4	64.2	65.4	66.8
Middle West					
1910	87.9	93.1	89.9	91.0	86.8
1920	85.6	92.4	90.3	91.6	90.5
1930	80.8	91.9	90.9	91.8	89.5
Far West					
1910	51.1	50.8	43.9	32.9	15.0
1920	54.3	46.1	46.7	37.8	17.9
1930	50.1	46.5	49.8	43.1	20.4

APPENDIX TABLE 23.—PROPORTION IN IMPROVED FARM LAND OF ALL LAND AREA, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All regions					
1910	70.2	66.2	62.0	58.9	49.3
1920	70.2	67.6	62.0	60.6	52.3
1930	68.4	65.5	60.2	58.6	53.3
Middle Atlantic					
1910	70.2	71.5	69.5	62.0	
1920	67.9	72.7	68.1	66.7	
1930	63.1	64.9	62.5	58.8	
South					
1910	55.2	50.5	45.5	43.1	39.2
1920	58.2	54.2	48.6	47.2	45.9
1930	58.8	55.1	48.8	49.7	46.6
Middle West					
1910	89.2	84.3	79.5	80.2	64.2
1920	87.7	82.5	78.2	79.3	66.3
1930	85.1	79.6	76.6	76.5	67.9
Far West					
1910	48.6	41.7	39.4	31.1	34.6
1920	48.8	47.9	36.7	31.5	33.8
1930	47.0	48.3	33.1	26.9	34.2

APPENDIX TABLE 24.—PROPORTION OF FARMS OPERATED BY OWNERS AND BY TENANTS, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	Percent operated by									
	Owner					Tenant				
	City county	Tiers of counties				City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
All regions										
1910	57.7	62.1	63.5	64.2	66.5	40.7	36.8	35.5	34.9	32.2
1920	57.6	60.8	61.2	61.6	60.4	40.8	38.0	37.7	37.3	37.6
1930	60.9	60.4	60.3	58.9	56.0	37.6	38.5	38.7	40.2	42.9
Middle Atlantic										
1910	74.8	70.2	73.6	70.3	....	23.0	28.5	25.1	27.9	
1920	76.5	71.5	72.6	70.1	....	20.6	26.6	26.3	28.3	
1930	82.7	77.9	80.3	77.2	....	15.1	20.2	18.8	21.6	
South										
1910	43.2	51.2	52.7	55.3	54.8	55.9	48.2	46.9	44.3	45.0
1920	45.6	50.2	51.8	53.1	51.0	53.4	49.3	47.7	46.5	48.5
1930	45.9	46.4	47.3	46.8	42.1	52.8	53.1	52.2	52.7	57.5
Middle West										
1910	60.4	62.7	63.9	65.9	69.8	38.2	36.4	35.2	33.1	29.0
1920	58.0	58.3	59.6	62.1	61.9	40.5	39.2	39.1	36.7	36.8
1930	60.8	58.5	57.9	57.7	56.8	38.1	40.6	41.3	41.5	42.2
Far West										
1910	66.3	80.4	79.2	74.9	77.4	30.5	16.6	18.3	23.4	19.6
1920	63.6	80.4	77.7	72.5	71.7	34.0	17.0	20.0	25.0	22.8
1930	73.6	82.5	78.2	74.6	75.2	24.1	15.0	19.1	23.3	22.3

Note: The percent of managers, making up the total, does not appear in this table.

APPENDIX D

Appendix Table 25.—Proportion of Farms Mortgaged, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All regions					
1910	33.2	36.3	35.3	38.0	43.4
1920	36.7	38.4	38.4	41.4	47.2
1930	41.3	43.8	43.8	46.1	52.7
Middle Atlantic					
1910	36.0	35.1	28.5	33.0	
1920	38.6	36.5	28.3	33.6	
1930	40.7	37.1	31.1	37.9	
South					
1910	23.8	25.4	25.3	27.2	30.8
1920	27.0	27.1	28.2	28.4	29.7
1930	32.0	35.0	35.7	35.5	36.0
Middle West					
1910	41.2	45.6	45.8	51.2	60.0
1920	44.0	47.2	48.8	55.7	61.6
1930	48.5	52.1	53.2	58.3	64.6
Far West					
1910	29.6	38.4	39.2	30.7	29.1
1920	37.7	44.8	48.1	38.7	44.7
1930	44.7	50.7	53.6	44.3	53.9

Appendix Table 26.—Ratio of the Amount of the Mortgage to Value of Mortgaged Property, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All regions					
1910	26.5	28.3	27.5	28.2	27.6
1920	29.4	30.7	30.2	29.0	28.8
1930	36.1	40.3	41.7	40.9	38.0
Middle Atlantic					
1910	35.6	36.3	33.1	35.0	
1920	37.4	36.7	32.5	36.6	
1930	41.2	43.5	42.8	41.7	
South					
1910	25.3	27.1	27.6	27.9	29.3
1920	27.5	31.1	31.1	29.1	22.7
1930	34.8	38.8	40.7	36.0	35.4
Middle West					
1910	24.4	26.8	26.1	27.5	26.2
1920	27.1	27.8	28.2	28.7	31.5
1930	37.3	42.2	44.1	47.1	42.9
Far West					
1910	23.3	25.0	23.9	24.7	28.0
1920	30.8	30.9	30.9	22.3	32.6
1930	27.8	33.2	34.5	33.7	31.7

APPENDIX TABLE 27.—PROPORTION IN LAND OF ALL FARM PROPERTY, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1910	69.9	65.9	66.0	66.4	71.8
1920	67.2	64.8	64.2	66.1	70.6
1930	60.7	56.4	55.5	57.6	64.4
Middle Atlantic					
1910	43.8	42.9	45.5	46.9	
1920	36.7	37.8	37.1	41.2	
1930	30.6	28.9	28.8	31.9	
South					
1910	69.7	62.8	62.0	61.1	64.0
1920	68.6	64.1	62.9	64.0	65.6
1930	62.5	58.4	57.0	59.2	65.4
Middle West					
1910	77.5	74.4	74.5	74.2	74.7
1920	76.4	74.1	74.0	73.8	73.0
1930	68.7	62.7	61.2	61.0	62.3
Far West					
1910	83.1	79.6	79.3	75.5	77.6
1920	76.8	74.9	75.0	73.5	73.1
1930	72.4	69.8	71.0	69.4	67.1

APPENDIX TABLE 28.—PROPORTION IN BUILDING OF ALL FARM PROPERTY, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1910	17.3	18.4	17.4	16.6	10.6
1920	18.2	18.4	18.1	16.5	12.2
1930	25.6	26.6	26.0	24.4	18.1
Middle Atlantic					
1910	36.0	35.2	32.9	32.6	
1920	34.8	32.8	32.7	30.6	
1930	44.0	42.3	40.4	40.7	
South					
1910	15.9	18.0	18.1	18.0	14.7
1920	17.5	18.4	18.7	17.6	14.6
1930	24.8	25.3	25.7	24.2	19.2
Middle West					
1910	12.8	13.4	12.7	12.6	8.6
1920	13.4	13.5	13.3	13.3	11.7
1930	20.6	22.8	22.9	22.6	18.9
Far West					
1910	9.8	11.8	8.5	8.9	8.5
1920	12.2	13.7	11.0	9.6	9.8
1930	17.8	20.0	16.0	14.4	15.0

APPENDIX D

Appendix Table 29.—Proportion in Animals of All Farm Property, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1910	9.5	12.0	13.0	13.5	13.4
1920	9.4	11.0	11.8	11.9	12.6
1930	8.0	10.4	11.8	11.4	11.4
Middle Atlantic					
1910	13.7	15.5	15.0	14.3	
1920	18.1	19.4	18.2	17.7	
1930	14.0	17.2	17.4	15.9	
South					
1910	11.4	15.3	16.3	17.1	17.7
1920	9.7	12.3	13.7	14.0	15.3
1930	8.4	10.8	12.5	11.5	10.5
Middle West					
1910	7.3	9.4	10.2	10.4	11.3
1920	6.1	7.6	8.2	8.1	10.6
1930	5.9	8.5	9.8	10.0	11.4
Far West					
1910	5.2	6.0	10.0	13.0	11.1
1920	7.1	6.5	9.3	12.0	12.6
1930	5.6	5.4	8.1	11.1	12.6

Appendix Table 30.—Proportion in Implements and Machinery of All Farm Property, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1910	3.2	3.8	3.6	3.6	3.2
1920	5.2	5.8	5.9	5.5	4.5
1930	5.7	6.8	6.8	6.5	6.1
Middle Atlantic					
1910	6.5	6.4	6.6	6.2	
1920	10.5	10.0	12.1	10.5	
1930	11.3	11.7	13.3	11.4	
South					
1910	3.0	4.0	3.6	3.8	3.6
1920	4.1	5.2	4.7	4.4	4.4
1930	4.3	5.5	4.9	5.1	4.8
Middle West					
1910	2.4	2.8	2.7	2.8	3.1
1920	4.1	4.7	4.6	4.9	4.7
1930	4.8	6.0	6.2	6.4	7.4
Far West					
1910	1.8	2.6	2.3	2.6	2.7
1920	3.9	4.9	4.7	4.9	4.5
1930	4.2	4.8	4.9	5.1	5.3

APPENDIX TABLE 31.—VALUE PER ACRE OF ALL FIELD CROPS, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
All regions					
1910	$193.96	$154.12	$133.81	$ 97.25	$ 38.37
1920	444.21	435.26	358.45	259.22	116.10
1930	259.50	223.29	178.49	132.33	66.90
Middle Atlantic					
1910	24.94	26.33	22.19	14.56	
1920	66.42	70.81	63.28	40.32	
1930	36.97	36.44	31.37	19.48	
South					
1910	52.23	39.09	38.88	28.17	12.78
1920	126.51	126.68	111.92	73.21	41.49
1930	69.29	61.86	52.83	48.05	25.79
Middle West					
1910	91.08	70.47	63.96	48.64	19.92
1920	203.40	174.71	159.28	131.49	59.45
1930	114.27	86.43	76.67	58.14	33.77
Far West					
1910	25.71	18.23	8.78	5.88	5.67
1920	47.88	63.06	23.97	14.20	15.16
1930	38.97	38.56	17.62	6.66	7.34

APPENDIX TABLE 32.—PROPORTION IN VEGETABLES OF THE VALUE OF ALL FIELD CROPS, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1910	12.7	7.3	6.0	5.8	5.8
1920	15.3	9.2	7.5	6.0	7.1
1930	18.2	9.8	7.5	5.7	5.4
Middle Atlantic					
1910	14.3	9.9	9.7	8.9	
1920	19.5	15.2	15.2	11.4	
1930	18.7	16.1	14.3	10.7	
South					
1910	9.1	7.0	6.5	6.7	6.3
1920	12.5	6.8	6.7	6.5	7.0
1930	12.3	6.7	5.4	4.3	3.7
Middle West					
1910	11.0	4.6	3.5	3.4	3.8
1920	10.3	6.6	4.4	3.5	5.9
1930	16.3	7.5	4.7	3.3	3.8
Far West					
1910	27.0	13.8	7.4	7.9	9.3
1920	35.0	16.5	8.4	6.6	9.7
1930	41.8	17.8	13.3	11.4	10.9

APPENDIX D

Appendix Table 33.—Proportion in Cereals of the Value of All Field Crops, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All regions					
1910	40.6	48.5	51.1	48.9	51.4
1920	44.8	49.6	50.1	50.6	50.3
1930	38.8	44.8	46.5	45.7	44.9
Middle Atlantic					
1910	35.5	42.4	49.3	40.7	
1920	40.1	43.9	46.9	42.0	
1930	36.0	38.4	44.8	37.1	
South					
1910	22.5	30.1	29.4	30.1	38.9
1920	29.0	37.4	31.7	34.5	40.4
1930	23.8	30.9	29.2	26.5	22.5
Middle West					
1910	67.2	75.3	75.2	72.4	74.3
1920	68.7	70.8	71.6	70.2	72.5
1930	61.5	67.8	69.4	69.4	74.9
Far West					
1910	9.4	18.9	34.7	33.9	24.5
1920	15.6	20.9	34.5	40.6	20.8
1930	8.3	15.6	20.7	31.0	18.7

Appendix Table 34.—Proportion in Hay and Forage of the Value of All Field Crops, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All regions					
1910	17.6	16.0	15.6	17.4	21.7
1920	19.6	18.0	18.7	20.3	23.8
1930	17.9	17.5	18.0	19.0	22.3
Middle Atlantic					
1910	36.2	34.4	26.1	34.0	
1920	35.9	35.4	30.7	39.1	
1930	36.3	36.2	30.1	36.9	
South					
1910	7.9	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.7
1920	13.1	8.4	8.0	8.5	6.7
1930	13.0	7.6	8.3	7.3	6.6
Middle West					
1910	13.6	14.5	15.5	16.8	17.4
1920	16.7	18.7	20.3	19.9	20.1
1930	13.8	17.6	19.5	18.8	17.9
Far West					
1910	32.6	24.2	31.0	33.4	56.0
1920	25.2	17.9	27.1	32.1	57.1
1930	19.7	18.5	23.3	30.9	54.7

APPENDIX TABLE 35.—VALUE PER ACRE OF BEEF AND DAIRY CATTLE, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
All regions					
1920	$5.73	$5.03	$4.49	$4.17	$4.06
1930	5.33	4.78	4.26	3.97	4.45
Middle Atlantic					
1920	8.18	8.54	6.27	6.96	
1930	7.66	8.13	6.25	6.46	
South					
1920	3.36	2.01	1.93	1.98	1.76
1930	3.28	1.94	1.78	1.77	1.40
Middle West					
1920	5.81	6.32	6.10	5.41	5.24
1930	5.34	5.63	5.72	5.36	4.87
Far West					
1920	8.88	4.29	3.88	3.11	5.14
1930	7.99	5.33	3.57	2.80	8.21

APPENDIX TABLE 36.—VALUE PER ACRE OF DAIRY PRODUCTS, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
All regions					
1910	$2.11	$1.23	$ .91	$ .74	$1.06
1920	4.53	3.40	2.60	2.15	2.64
1930	5.34	4.07	3.00	2.65	3.03
Middle Atlantic					
1910	2.84	2.90	1.58	1.72	
1920	6.97	7.74	4.98	5.84	
1930	7.75	8.56	5.80	6.52	
South					
1910	1.01	.29	.26	.24	.21
1920	2.12	.71	.60	.52	.49
1930	3.70	1.11	.78	.78	.64
Middle West					
1910	1.73	1.27	1.22	.87	.91
1920	3.71	3.62	3.36	2.52	2.20
1930	4.47	4.36	3.61	3.28	2.79
Far West					
1910	5.60	1.44	.77	.60	2.66
1920	10.98	4.20	2.35	1.42	6.77
1930	9.78	5.17	3.28	1.53	7.13

APPENDIX D

Appendix Table 37.—Value per Acre of Poultry and Eggs, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
All regions					
1910	$ .95	$ .86	$ .76	$ .57	$ .28
1920	1.91	1.88	1.51	1.20	.67
1930	2.94	2.89	2.20	1.78	1.01
Middle Atlantic					
1910	1.19	1.43	1.69	.89	
1920	2.53	2.60	2.92	2.03	
1930	3.94	4.24	4.79	3.90	
South					
1910	.54	.40	.36	.36	.23
1920	1.15	.93	.89	.78	.62
1930	1.89	1.28	1.13	1.09	.85
Middle West					
1910	1.07	.91	.82	.76	.36
1920	1.99	1.80	1.70	1.55	.88
1930	2.68	2.44	2.31	2.03	1.27
Far West					
1910	1.40	1.20	.34	.26	.17
1920	2.99	3.92	.63	.37	.32
1930	5.44	7.27	1.18	.66	.76

Appendix Table 38.—Ratio of Dairy Products Sold to Dairy Products Produced, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1910	79.7	63.6	62.1	57.9	56.5
1920	83.7	71.0	67.6	65.4	63.9
1930	93.1	83.1	79.7	78.1	73.2
Middle Atlantic					
1910	91.9	91.1	90.0	87.8	
1920	94.2	94.8	94.7	94.0	
1930	98.0	98.6	97.9	97.6	
South					
1910	65.8	28.8	23.2	16.9	15.2
1920	73.1	38.5	29.5	27.0	21.6
1930	87.3	63.7	51.6	49.7	34.3
Middle West					
1910	81.4	74.3	75.1	71.3	72.9
1920	85.4	82.6	80.9	78.8	81.6
1930	94.0	89.0	90.9	89.2	91.0
Far West					
1910	97.1	89.5	91.9	90.2	85.8
1920	93.9	92.4	94.8	92.4	91.9
1930	99.2	97.2	98.0	96.3	95.8

APPENDIX TABLE 39.—RATIO OF POULTRY AND EGGS SOLD TO POULTRY AND EGGS PRODUCED, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and year	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions					
1910	49.3	51.4	50.3	49.3	43.1
1920	48.4	53.4	51.7	49.1	44.0
1930	56.7	60.2	59.3	58.0	53.2
Middle Atlantic					
1910	67.3	62.3	59.4	65.3	
1920	61.1	70.0	76.1	67.6	
1930	67.4	71.0	73.5	72.3	
South					
1910	36.1	37.6	35.9	34.2	33.3
1920	36.0	37.5	35.6	34.7	34.2
1930	48.9	48.8	46.4	47.2	44.6
Middle West					
1910	47.9	53.9	55.8	52.4	49.2
1920	47.9	54.5	52.4	53.2	47.1
1930	56.5	61.0	61.9	59.7	56.4
Far West					
1910	67.1	67.6	60.4	62.1	45.8
1920	67.8	71.8	60.8	54.5	52.4
1930	64.8	75.5	67.8	65.2	59.8

MERCHANDISING

APPENDIX TABLE 40.—RETAIL STORES PER VILLAGE, BY TYPE AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Type of store	Small villages			Medium villages			Large villages		
	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930
Total	21.3	22.9	24.4	31.6	35.2	39.3	43.8	48.8	60.9
Grocery	1.4	2.0	2.1	2.8	3.4	4.0	5.1	4.4	7.5
All other food	2.0	1.8	2.0	2.9	3.0	3.1	4.1	4.5	5.3
General	6.0	5.6	3.9	5.0	4.4	4.3	5.9	6.2	5.7
Apparel	2.1	1.7	1.4	4.7	4.3	3.8	6.5	5.7	6.6
Automotive	0.05	2.8	5.3	0.3	4.7	8.8	0.6	6.8	13.4
Furniture	0.7	0.6	0.6	1.2	1.1	1.1	2.0	1.5	1.6
Lumber and building	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.7	1.7	1.8
Hardware	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.3
Feed and farm supplies	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.8	1.6	1.3	2.1	2.0	1.9
Restaurants and soft drinks	1.0	1.0	1.4	1.2	1.7	2.4	1.9	2.6	3.3
All other retail	4.7	4.1	4.3	8.5	7.8	7.2	11.6	10.9	11.5

Source: Bradstreet's Book of Commerical Ratings.

APPENDIX D

Appendix Table 41.—Retail Stores per Village, by Tiers of Counties and by Size of Village,—Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Area

Tier	Villages under 500			Villages 500 to 1,000			Villages 1,000 to 1,750		
	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930
City county	2.1	2.6	6.3	1.0	3.7	22.0	19.3	25.5	24.5
Tier 1	5.1	4.0	5.6	15.0	22.8	27.0	34.0	33.0	46.0
2	3.2	3.8	5.2	20.8	21.4	23.2	33.1	34.4	38.5
3	3.6	4.2	5.2	21.7	21.8	35.8	35.1	36.4	45.8
4	3.5	4.4	5.3	19.0	19.1	23.8	35.7	32.3	37.5
5	2.8	3.9	5.4	14.4	18.6	26.4	34.0	31.8	41.8
6	2.2	4.6	4.9	16.3	23.8	30.2	34.0	39.5	50.7

Source: Bradstreet's Book of Commercial Ratings.

Appendix Table 42.—Retail Stores per 1,000 Population in 1930, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
All regions	13.1	12.5	12.0	12.9	12.7
Middle Atlantic	15.7	15.3	12.8	14.5	
South	10.8	9.3	9.6	9.7	9.8
Middle West	13.1	13.5	13.4	13.9	12.3
Far West	16.4	14.0	13.0	16.1	17.9

Appendix Table 43.—Yearly Retail Sales per Store in 1930, by Region and by Tiers of Counties,—18 Areas

Region	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
All regions	$37,200	$24,200	$24,100	$24,300	$25,600
Middle Atlantic	28,538	22,098	22,036	21,144	
South	36,713	17,744	17,279	19,918	26,076
Middle West	41,520	27,425	26,083	27,522	26,874
Far West	39,184	29,369	35,532	25,642	23,597

APPENDIX TABLE 44.—PROPORTION OF TOTAL RETAIL SALES MADE BY SPECIFIED TYPES OF STORES IN 1930, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region and type of store	Total	City county	Tiers of counties			
	Percent	Percent	1 Percent	2 Percent	3 Percent	4 Percent
All regions*						
Food	20.6	20.8	20.7	19.0	19.2	17.2
Automotive	22.3	20.5	23.2	24.4	24.4	27.9
General merchandise	13.3	15.3	10.6	11.0	13.1	13.5
General country store	5.2	1.7	8.3	9.8	8.6	9.7
Apparel	7.2	9.3	5.0	4.8	4.8	3.7
Furniture and household	4.3	5.4	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.0
Middle Atlantic						
Food	23.3	23.4	23.2	20.1	23.1	
Automotive	20.2	20.3	20.8	22.6	20.6	
General merchandise	10.7	13.1	7.6	7.2	7.8	
General country store	4.7	2.3	6.5	12.6	9.2	
Apparel	8.6	10.0	6.5	5.4	6.4	
Furniture and household	4.1	5.0	3.2	2.9	3.3	
South						
Food	19.1	19.9	17.2	17.6	16.8	18.2
Automotive	21.7	20.8	21.4	22.9	25.7	25.8
General merchandise	16.4	16.4	14.5	14.0	18.2	14.7
General country store	8.9	2.5	19.5	20.3	14.6	10.1
Apparel	6.2	9.0	2.6	2.7	2.5	5.0
Furniture and household	4.7	6.1	3.0	3.0	2.9	4.4
Middle West						
Food	19.6	20.1	20.3	18.7	18.6	12.7
Automotive	23.5	20.9	24.9	25.4	25.3	30.3
General merchandise	12.4	14.8	10.3	10.8	12.2	10.7
General country store	4.4	1.4	5.8	6.4	5.4	9.9
Apparel	6.9	9.1	5.2	5.4	5.6	2.6
Furniture and household	4.1	5.2	3.4	3.6	3.4	2.9
Far West						
Food	21.9	21.5	22.9	20.5	20.6	23.3
Automotive	21.5	19.5	22.8	24.9	24.9	26.1
General merchandise	13.8	16.8	10.4	11.7	13.3	17.0
General country store	2.4	0.3	5.2	5.0	10.1	8.9
Apparel	7.9	9.5	5.2	5.1	3.8	4.3
Furniture and household	4.4	4.9	3.5	3.2	2.8	2.1

* The proportions do not total 100.0 percent because some types of stores are omitted.

APPENDIX D

Appendix Table 45.—Proportion of Families Buying Various Items in Specified Places, by Residence

Place of buying	Families living in: Farms		Small villages		Villages 1,000 to 2,500		Towns	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Furniture								
Total	1,722	100.0	1,142	100.0	808	100.0	1,348	100.0
Home town	584	33.9	405	35.5	438	54.2	830	61.6
Neighboring town	342	19.9	343	30.0	122	15.1	163	12.1
Mail orders	279	16.2	127	11.1	44	5.4	67	5.0
Home & neighboring town	60	3.5	22	1.9	38	4.7	62	4.6
Mail order and home town	196	11.4	84	7.4	92	11.4	139	10.3
Mail order & neighboring town	206	12.0	125	10.9	46	5.7	42	3.1
All three places	55	3.2	36	3.2	28	3.5	45	3.3
Hardware								
Total	1,748	100.0	1,130	100.0	800	100.0	1,335	100.0
Home town	1,090	62.4	769	68.1	663	82.9	1,117	83.7
Neighboring town	207	11.8	186	16.5	55	6.9	61	4.6
Mail orders	81	4.6	47	4.2	15	1.9	28	2.1
Home & neighboring town	96	5.5	35	3.1	21	2.6	38	2.8
Mail order and home town	161	9.2	49	4.3	30	3.8	51	3.8
Mail order & neighboring town	52	3.0	24	2.1	4	0.5	11	0.8
All three places	61	3.5	20	1.8	12	1.5	29	2.2
Silverware								
Total	1,519	100.0	1,009	100.0	745	100.0	1,241	100.0
Home town	654	43.1	446	44.2	476	63.9	890	71.7
Neighboring town	330	21.7	327	32.4	119	16.0	163	13.1
Mail orders	354	23.3	172	17.0	91	12.2	102	8.2
Home & neighboring town	24	1.6	11	1.1	14	1.9	36	2.9
Mail order and home town	90	5.9	18	1.8	25	3.4	32	2.6
Mail order & neighboring town	49	3.2	27	2.7	16	2.1	11	0.9
All three places	18	1.2	8	0.8	4	0.5	7	0.6
Women's clothing								
Total	1,779	100.0	1,167	100.0	823	100.0	1,357	100.0
Home town	422	23.7	226	19.4	343	41.7	736	54.2
Neighboring town	361	20.3	401	34.4	173	21.0	179	13.2
Mail orders	294	16.5	149	12.8	48	5.8	72	5.3
Home & neighboring town	57	3.2	65	5.6	56	6.8	92	6.8
Mail order & home town	285	16.0	86	7.4	103	12.5	163	12.0
Mail order & neighboring town	210	11.8	167	14.3	52	6.3	45	3.3
All three places	150	8.4	73	6.3	48	5.8	70	5.2
Men's clothing								
Total	1,743	100.0	1,135	100.0	790	100.0	1,326	100.0
Home town	585	33.6	299	26.3	447	56.6	870	65.6
Neighboring town	398	22.8	450	39.6	155	19.6	175	13.2
Mail orders	214	12.3	100	8.8	37	4.7	44	3.3
Home & neighboring town	77	4.4	68	6.0	49	6.2	76	5.7
Mail order & home town	227	13.0	62	5.5	54	6.8	93	7.0
Mail order & neighboring town	138	7.9	100	8.8	20	2.5	25	1.9
All three places	104	6.0	56	4.9	28	3.5	43	3.2
Groceries								
Total	1,782	100.0	1,173	100.0	823	100.0	1,345	100.0
Home town	1,300	73.0	952	81.2	752	91.4	1,249	92.9
Neighboring town	200	11.2	57	4.9	17	2.1	25	1.9
Mail orders	26	1.5	4	0.3	4	0.5	8	0.6
Home & neighboring town	156	8.8	105	9.0	31	3.8	41	3.0
Mail order & home town	44	2.5	27	2.3	11	1.3	18	1.3
Mail order & neighboring town	14	0.8	4	0.3	0	0	1	0.07
All three places	42	2.4	24	2.0	8	0.9	3	0.2

Source: Compiled from survey by the Woman's World, Chicago.

Appendix E

SOURCE DATA ON VILLAGE AND OPEN-COUNTRY CHURCHES

Appendix Table 46.—Residence of Village Church Membership and Proportion of Churches with Country Membership Increasing, by Region and by Size of Village,—140 Villages

Region and size of village	Percent members from		Churches with country membership increasing
	Village	Country	Percent
	All churches		
All regions	64.5	35.5	29.8
Middle Atlantic	72.0	28.0	27.1
South	74.2	25.8	20.7
Middle West	59.2	40.8	39.3
Far West	54.0	46.0	30.7
Small villages	62.4	37.6	30.6
Medium villages	62.5	37.5	28.4
Large villages	68.1	31.9	30.5
	White Protestant churches		
All regions	68.3	31.7	30.1
Middle Atlantic	75.9	24.1	19.0
South	75.8	24.2	24.1
Middle West	63.1	36.9	38.0
Far West	60.3	39.7	31.1
Small villages	65.9	34.1	30.1
Medium villages	65.8	34.2	28.1
Large villages	72.7	27.3	32.4

The proportion of country church membership residing in villages in these 140 communities is 4.2 percent, representing 1,325 persons, mostly recently retired farmers. Similarly for 21 counties the percent is 1.5.

APPENDIX E

Appendix Table 47.—Change in Parish Areas of Village Churches, by Region,—140 Villages

Region	All churches				White Protestant churches			
	Number reporting	Percent of parishes			Number reporting	Percent of parishes		
		Larger	Same	Smaller		Larger	Same	Smaller
All regions	452	13.5	81.0	5.5	382	14.4	79.8	5.8
Middle Atlantic	103	12.6	78.7	8.7	92	10.9	80.4	8.7
South—White	85	9.4	89.4	1.1	84	9.5	89.4	1.1
Negro	38	0.0	97.4	2.6				
Middle West	173	17.9	74.6	7.5	156	18.0	74.8	7.7
Far West	53	17.0	81.1	1.9	50	18.0	80.0	2.0

Appendix Table 48.—Distribution of All Churches by Size of Resident Membership, by Region,—140 Villages

Region	Number reporting size		Percent of churches reporting membership as											
			Under 50		50 to 100		100 to 150		150 to 200		200 to 250		250 and over	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	Village													
All regions	769	750	25.9	24.7	23.8	18.8	13.8	16.8	11.8	11.2	7.4	8.5	17.3	20.0
Middle Atlantic	137	131	17.5	17.6	27.0	23.7	10.2	11.4	14.6	13.0	11.7	9.9	19.0	24.4
South	182	189	25.8	22.2	28.0	24.4	12.1	16.4	11.0	9.5	7.2	7.9	15.9	19.6
Middle West	296	290	20.3	22.8	21.3	12.0	15.9	20.0	13.9	13.8	8.2	8.6	20.4	22.8
Far West	154	140	44.1	38.6	20.8	20.7	14.9	15.7	6.5	6.4	2.6	7.9	11.1	10.7
	Country													
All regions	597	517	44.8	34.6	31.3	36.2	10.7	16.2	6.9	6.0	2.4	3.1	3.9	3.9
Middle Atlantic	114	96	65.0	43.8	28.0	45.7	4.4	9.4	2.6	1.1	0	0	0	0
South	270	239	31.5	28.0	37.1	35.1	16.3	20.5	7.4	8.0	2.9	4.6	4.8	3.8
Middle West	171	149	48.5	37.6	26.4	30.2	7.0	15.4	10.5	6.7	2.9	2.7	4.7	7.4
Far West	42	33	61.9	42.5	23.8	42.4	7.2	9.1	2.4	3.0	4.7	3.0	0	0

APPENDIX TABLE 49.—VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES THAT GAINED OR LOST IN MEMBERSHIP,—140 VILLAGES

	Churches gained or lost since 1924				
	Number churches reporting	Membership			
		Lost Percent	Stationary Percent	Gained Percent	Gained more than 10 percent
	All churches				
All churches	1,167	44.8	7.3	47.9	36.8
White Protestant	978	45.3	6.6	48.1	37.2
Negro Protestant	128	40.6	11.7	47.7	35.2
Roman Catholic	61	45.9	8.2	45.9	34.4
	Village churches				
All churches	703	42.8	6.1	51.1	39.7
White Protestant	586	43.0	5.5	51.5	40.3
Negro Protestant	62	40.3	11.3	48.4	35.5
Roman Catholic	55	43.6	7.3	49.1	38.2
	Country churches				
All churches	464	47.8	9.1	43.1	32.5
White Protestant	392	48.7	8.4	42.9	32.7
Negro Protestant	66	40.9	12.1	47.0	34.9
Roman Catholic	6	66.6	16.7	16.7	0

APPENDIX TABLE 50.—WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES THAT GAINED OR LOST IN MEMBERSHIP,—21 COUNTIES

	Number churches reporting	Lost Percent	Stationary Percent	Gained Percent	Gained more than 10 percent
	1910 to 1920				
All churches	616	48.2	7.1	44.7	38.0
Village and town churches	232	34.1	6.9	59.0	50.9
Country churches	384	56.8	7.3	35.9	30.2
	1920 to 1930				
All churches	772	39.4	3.6	57.0	46.6
Village and town churches	307	34.2	3.6	62.2	51.5
Country churches	465	42.8	3.7	53.5	43.4

APPENDIX E

Appendix Table 51.—Age Distribution of Resident Membership of All Churches by Sex and by Region,—140 Villages

Region	Total membership*		Percentage distribution							
			Total		Under 21		21 to 45		45 and over	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
			Male							
All regions	58,810	101,279	39.9	42.6	9.2	11.0	15.8	17.1	14.9	14.4
Middle Atlantic	11,340	19,974	39.6	41.9	7.5	8.5	16.0	11.9	16.1	16.5
South—White	10,139	18,002	43.2	42.7	9.8	12.7	18.6	17.9	14.8	12.1
Negro	1,630	4,589	37.7	39.7	7.8	13.3	17.0	15.0	12.9	11.4
Middle West	27,863	46,034	39.6	43.2	9.4	10.7	15.1	17.5	15.1	15.0
Far West	7,833	12,680	37.7	42.4	10.8	12.7	14.0	16.0	12.9	13.7
			Female							
All regions	.....	.....	60.1	57.4	13.0	14.8	23.9	23.0	23.2	19.6
Middle Atlantic	.....	.....	60.4	58.1	10.5	11.4	23.7	22.4	26.2	24.3
South—White	.....	.....	56.8	57.3	13.0	17.8	25.6	25.5	18.2	14.0
Negro	.....	.....	62.3	60.3	15.7	22.4	24.6	23.3	22.0	14.6
Middle West	.....	.....	60.4	56.8	13.2	14.1	23.0	22.6	24.2	20.1
Far West	.....	.....	62.3	57.6	15.1	15.9	25.4	21.4	21.8	20.3

* Churches in 117 villages in 1924, 140 villages in 1930.

Appendix Table 52.—Age Distribution of Resident Membership of White Protestant Village and Country Churches in 1930, by Sex and by Region,—140 Villages

Region	No. churches reporting	Percentage distribution							
		Male				Female			
		Total	Under 21	21 to 45	45 & over	Total	Under 21	21 to 45	45 & over
		Village							
All regions	552	42.0	10.2	17.3	14.5	58.0	14.1	23.6	20.3
Middle Atlantic	110	41.1	8.0	16.7	16.4	58.9	11.2	22.7	25.0
South	107	42.8	12.8	17.9	12.1	57.2	17.8	25.4	14.0
Middle West	231	42.3	9.7	17.6	15.0	57.7	13.4	23.5	20.8
Far West	104	40.9	11.2	16.2	13.5	59.1	15.2	22.8	21.1
		Country							
All regions	371	44.7	12.2	18.2	14.2	55.3	15.4	22.1	17.8
Middle Atlantic	88	43.5	8.9	16.8	17.8	56.5	10.6	21.2	24.7
South	127	43.2	13.3	17.2	12.7	56.8	18.6	22.7	15.5
Middle West	135	46.5	13.1	19.8	13.6	53.5	14.8	22.1	16.6
Far West	21	45.8	11.3	16.5	18.0	54.2	12.0	22.0	20.2

APPENDIX TABLE 53.—PROPORTION OF NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS IN TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Region	Percent non-resident			
	21 counties		140 village communities	
	1920	1930	1924	1930
All regions	11.5	13.2	10.8	12.5
Middle Atlantic	15.0	13.7	11.6	12.2
South	13.1	18.0	13.2	15.5
Middle West	7.6	8.3	9.0	11.3
Far West	11.9	10.1	9.9	11.5

APPENDIX TABLE 54.—ATTENDANCE INTEREST IN COMMUNITY CHURCHES, ALL CHURCHES,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Average monthly attendance			
	Per person in community population		Per resident church member	
	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	1.2	1.1	3.9	3.6
Middle Atlantic	1.1	1.1	3.5	3.1
South	1.1	1.0	2.5	3.1
Middle West	1.6	1.4	5.4	4.0
Far West	0.8	0.8	4.5	4.0

APPENDIX TABLE 55.—RELIGIOUS SERVICES IN ALL VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	No. churches reporting		Percent of churches having services					
			Sunday and midweek		Sunday only		Not every Sunday	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	Village							
All regions	759	733	51.8	51.0	23.8	36.3	24.4	12.7
Middle Atlantic	132	129	65.9	61.2	25.8	31.8	8.3	7.0
South—White	123	121	45.6	55.3	8.9	20.7	45.5	24.0
Negro	54	68	22.2	33.8	3.7	29.4	74.1	36.8
Middle West	292	278	53.1	48.9	30.1	45.0	16.8	6.1
Far West	158	137	52.5	50.3	29.1	40.2	18.4	9.5
	Country							
All regions	575	511	11.1	11.4	24.4	26.4	64.5	62.2
Middle Atlantic	120	91	17.5	16.5	30.8	31.9	51.7	51.6
South—White	161	170	2.5	1.2	6.2	9.4	91.3	89.4
Negro	70	65	1.4	16.9	4.3	4.6	94.3	78.5
Middle West	177	151	14.1	12.6	37.9	49.7	48.0	37.7
Far West	47	34	27.7	32.3	48.9	35.3	23.4	32.4

APPENDIX E

Appendix Table 56.—Enrollment and Attendance in Protestant Village and Country Sunday Schools,—140 Villages

Region	Percent of churches with Sunday schools				Average Sunday school enrollment				Percent attendance of enrollment			
	Village		Country		Village		Country		Village		Country	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	91.6	92.2	80.6	86.1	111	127	67	66	69.4	64.0	62.6	65.2
Middle Atlantic	93.4	94.2	85.8	87.9	144	145	67	64	59.7	61.6	58.2	61.5
South—White	96.0	93.5	78.2	82.0	126	151	67	71	66.7	65.2	68.6	62.9
Negro	94.7	86.1	84.1	100.0	52	55	53	54	65.3	65.0	69.8	63.3
Middle West	91.3	95.0	79.3	80.4	108	132	74	70	75.9	63.0	71.6	69.5
Far West	86.0	87.3	73.3	94.7	98	111	51	57	70.4	67.4	41.2	71.8

Appendix Table 57.—Population in Sunday School and Ratio of Sunday School Enrollment to Church Membership, by Region,—140 Villages

Region	Percent of population in Sunday school		Ratio of Sunday school enrollment to church membership	
	1924*	1930	1924* Percent	1930 Percent
All regions	22.8	23.9	74.3	74.7
Middle Atlantic	31.8	29.7	96.3	84.5
South	24.1	23.9	64.3	68.9
Middle West	20.0	24.0	67.5	69.1
Far West	18.3	18.5	95.4	93.1

* 1924 Sunday School enrollment does not include Roman Catholic, which probably lowers 1924 ratios a trifle.

Appendix Table 58.—Religious Education Program of White and Negro Protestant Churches, 1930

Region	Number churches reporting	Percent of churches having					
		Communicant classes	Mission study classes	School of missions	Teacher training class	Week-day school of religious education	Daily vacation Bible school
	140 village communities						
All regions	1,156	23.4	11.6	8.5	15.6	8.4	18.1
Middle Atlantic	209	31.1	10.5	11.0	20.1	10.0	27.8
South—White	285	8.1	11.2	8.1	14.7	2.5	8.1
Negro	125	1.6	2.5	0.8	6.4	2.4	0.8
Middle West	396	36.6	13.4	9.6	16.4	13.4	23.7
Far West	141	25.5	17.0	7.8	17.0	9.2	23.4
	21 counties						
All regions	1,004	22.8	10.6	1.7	10.2	8.6	17.1
Middle Atlantic	193	31.1	17.6	0.5	13.0	13.5	26.4
South—White	342	10.8	2.9	0.6	4.4	1.2	9.4
Negro	123	4.1	2.4	0	3.3	1.6	0.8
Middle West	204	37.3	6.5	1.0	12.7	11.8	23.5
Far West	142	35.9	28.2	8.5	22.5	21.1	28.2

APPENDIX TABLE 59.—STUDENTS ENTERING MINISTRY AND MISSION FIELDS IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS FROM WHITE AND NEGRO PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Region	Village						Country					
	1924			1930			1924			1930		
	Number churches having	Students		Number churches having	Students		Number churches having	Students		Number churches having	Students	
		Total	Average		Total	Average		Total	Average		Total	Average
	140 villages											
All regions	129	230	1.8	157	279	1.8	49	65	1.3	56	99	1.8
Middle Atlantic	35	61	1.7	29	43	1.5	20	21	1.1	10	10	1.0
South—White	22	35	1.6	31	45	1.5	6	9	1.5	14	21	1.5
Negro	3	5	1.7	17	29	1.7	3	5	1.7	14	19	1.4
Middle West	59	116	2.0	56	127	2.3	17	26	1.5	16	47	2.9
Far West	10	13	1.3	24	35	1.5	3	4	1.3	2	2	1.0
	21 counties											
All regions	...	...	...	97	220	2.3	..	..	...	49	80	1.6
Middle Atlantic	...	...	...	16	19	1.2	..	..	...	10	11	1.1
South—White	...	...	...	8	14	1.8	..	..	...	15	17	1.1
Negro	...	...	...	8	17	2.1	..	..	...	6	10	1.7
Middle West	...	...	...	21	40	1.9	..	..	...	16	25	1.6
Far West	...	...	...	44	130	3.0	..	..	...	2	17	8.5

APPENDIX TABLE 60.—CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS FOR SPECIFIED GROUPS, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	All churches											
	Total No. of organizations		Percentage distribution for									
			Men		Women		Boys		Girls		Mixed	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	2,437	2,336	3.8	4.8	51.8	54.9	1.4	1.2	6.3	3.1	36.7	36.0
Middle Atlantic	479	448	2.6	6.9	56.0	57.3	1.2	2.0	7.0	5.6	33.2	28.2
South—White	432	447	2.3	3.3	43.6	42.1	2.3	1.8	9.2	5.3	42.6	47.5
Negro	178	220	2.2	0.9	57.3	46.4	0	0	1.7	1.3	38.8	51.4
Middle West	1,034	916	4.7	4.6	56.2	63.5	0.6	0.5	4.9	1.4	33.6	30.0
Far West	314	305	5.1	7.6	39.5	50.8	3.5	1.6	7.9	2.3	44.0	37.7

APPENDIX E

Appendix Table 61.—Organizations in White Protestant Churches for Specified Groups, by Region,—21 Counties

Region	No. churches reporting	Percentage distribution for									
		Men		Women		Boys		Girls		Mixed	
		1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
All regions	882	3.7	6.4	55.3	65.0	3.7	3.3	5.3	4.4	35.7	45.2
Colonial	269	6.0	8.6	67.0	78.4	4.3	3.7	4.0	4.8	36.5	44.6
South	271	1.0	3.0	23.5	37.6	0.4	1.5	2.0	3.7	22.2	34.7
Middle West	204	2.0	6.4	63.8	82.8	3.5	4.9	9.0	3.4	39.0	46.1
Range	28	10.0	17.9	62.3	57.1	4.3	3.6	8.7	7.1	39.0	64.3
Pacific	110	3.5	5.4	59.8	68.2	7.7	3.6	5.6	6.4	48.6	66.4
Town	...	16.6	10.0	84.6	80.0	14.1	6.3	25.6	6.3	70.5	63.8
Village	...	5.1	10.0	69.5	81.5	5.9	6.0	7.6	7.1	46.9	60.5
Country	...	1.3	3.8	43.4	53.7	1.1	1.3	1.4	2.7	24.9	34.2

Appendix Table 62.—Organizations and Activities in White and Negro Protestant Village and Country Churches, 1930

Region	Number churches reporting	Percent of churches having							
		General social events	Lectures	Concerts	Special interest groups	Health work	Classes	Announce community events	Survey
	Village churches—140 villages								
All regions	650	60.1	31.1	31.7	18.0	6.5	13.2	72.1	23.5
Middle Atlantic	113	64.6	22.1	23.9	12.4	3.5	36.3	77.8	18.6
South—White	112	49.1	33.9	26.8	18.7	5.4	2.7	76.7	15.2
Negro	60	31.6	15.0	11.7	1.7	5.0	3.3	63.3	0
Middle West	250	70.4	37.2	41.2	25.6	6.8	14.4	70.0	32.4
Far West	115	58.3	32.2	33.9	14.8	10.4	3.5	68.8	29.6
	Village churches—21 counties								
All regions	320	57.1	27.8	23.4	8.4	5.6	7.5	76.0	27.2
Middle Atlantic	75	66.7	32.0	32.0	9.3	6.7	9.3	84.0	24.0
South—White	55	41.8	23.6	12.7	5.5	1.8	0	78.2	29.1
Negro	47	34.0	8.5	8.5	2.1	0	4.3	63.8	0
Middle West	61	82.0	27.9	26.2	1.6	3.3	6.6	67.3	27.9
Far West	82	53.7	37.8	29.3	18.3	12.2	13.4	80.5	43.9
	Country churches—140 villages								
All regions	479	37.6	8.1	7.3	6.7	0.6	5.2	58.2	11.5
Middle Atlantic	91	42.9	11.0	7.7	5.5	0	17.6	71.4	16.5
South—White	157	16.6	2.5	0.6	7.0	0	0.6	61.1	5.7
Negro	59	30.5	3.4	8.5	5.1	1.7	0	66.1	1.7
Middle West	145	52.4	11.7	11.7	8.3	0.7	5.5	44.8	18.6
Far West	27	70.4	18.5	18.5	3.7	3.7	0	51.8	11.1
	Country churches—21 counties								
All regions	586	42.3	11.2	8.9	3.4	1.7	1.9	68.2	15.2
Middle Atlantic	119	63.0	21.8	16.8	11.8	1.7	2.5	66.4	17.6
South—White	264	30.7	5.3	4.5	0.4	0	1.1	66.7	12.1
Negro	77	3.9	0	1.3	0	0	0	80.5	6.5
Middle West	108	73.1	18.5	13.0	1.9	0.9	2.8	67.6	20.4
Far West	18	55.6	33.3	27.8	16.7	38.9	11.1	55.6	50.0

APPENDIX TABLE 63.—TRAINING OF PASTORS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES, BY RESIDENCE, 1930,—140 VILLAGES

	Number pastors reporting	College		Seminary		College and seminary		Other	
		Resident	Non-resident	Resident	Non-resident	Resident	Non-resident	Resident	Non-resident
	Village churches								
White protestant									
All regions	516	83	24	50	6	181	23	127	22
Middle Atlantic	109	10	1	15	1	49	7	22	4
South	107	24	10	6	0	36	2	22	7
Middle West	211	37	8	24	4	69	12	51	6
Far West	88	12	5	4	1	27	2	32	5
Small villages	143	18	11	16	2	43	6	40	7
Medium villages	204	37	9	23	3	71	10	44	7
Large villages	169	28	4	11	1	67	7	43	8
Total Negro	54	6	5	5	2	1	0	12	23
Total Roman Catholic	49	2	2	1	0	33	10	0	1
	Country churches								
White protestant									
All regions	211	18	26	9	17	15	21	29	76
Middle Atlantic	30	1	4	1	5	2	5	5	7
South	87	5	13	1	6	1	4	5	52
Middle West	79	9	8	5	5	9	12	15	16
Far West	15	3	1	2	1	3	0	4	1
Small villages	67	6	9	1	9	3	6	4	29
Medium villages	92	9	13	4	4	9	10	21	22
Large villages	52	3	4	4	4	3	5	4	25
Total Negro	34	1	2	0	1	0	1	4	25
Total Roman Catholic	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0

APPENDIX TABLE 64.—TRAINING OF ALL PASTORS, BY RESIDENCE,—140 VILLAGES

	Number pastors reporting		Percent of pastors graduated from							
			College		Seminary		College and seminary		All other	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	All churches									
Grand total	811	866	14.2	19.5	13.6	10.5	35.0	33.2	37.2	36.8
Resident	564	578	15.1	19.0	13.8	11.2	40.8	40.0	30.3	29.8
Non-resident	247	288	12.2	20.5	13.0	9.0	21.8	19.5	53.0	51.0
	Village churches*									
Total	...	619	....	19.7	....	10.3	....	40.1	....	29.9
Resident	496	501	15.5	18.2	13.5	11.2	43.2	42.9	27.8	27.7
Non-resident	...	118	....	26.2	....	6.8	....	28.0	....	39.0
	Country churches*									
Total	...	247	....	19.0	....	10.9	....	15.8	....	54.3
Resident	68	77	11.8	24.7	16.2	11.7	23.5	20.8	48.5	42.8
Non-resident	...	170	....	16.5	....	11.6	....	13.5	....	54.8

* Non-resident pastors not distributed in 1924.

APPENDIX E

Appendix Table 65.—Training of Pastors in White Protestant Churches, by Residence,—21 Counties

Pastors	No. pastors reporting		Percent of pastors graduated from							
			College		Seminary		College and seminary		All other	
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
	All churches									
Grand total	549	568	20.4	22.0	7.8	8.8	34.8	30.9	37.0	38.3
Resident	365	369	20.5	20.3	10.1	11.9	43.1	39.0	26.3	28.8
Non-resident	184	199	20.1	25.2	3.3	3.0	18.5	15.5	58.1	56.3
	Town churches									
Total	58	75	20.7	26.7	10.3	10.7	53.5	41.3	15.5	21.3
Resident	54	71	20.4	25.4	11.1	11.3	53.7	43.6	14.8	19.7
Non-resident*	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Village churches									
Total	228	227	23.3	21.6	9.2	10.6	42.5	38.7	25.0	29.1
Resident	197	190	23.4	18.9	9.6	12.1	44.7	41.1	22.3	27.9
Non-resident	31	37	22.6	35.1	6.4	2.7	29.1	27.1	41.9	35.1
	Country churches									
Total	263	266	17.9	21.1	6.1	6.8	23.9	21.1	52.1	51.0
Resident	114	108	15.8	19.3	10.5	12.1	35.1	32.4	38.6	36.2
Non-resident	149	158	19.5	22.1	2.7	3.2	15.4	13.3	62.4	61.4

*Base too small to figure percents.

Appendix Table 66.—Pastoral Service in White Protestant Village and Country Churches, by Region,—140 Villages

Region	Number churches reporting		Percent of churches having pastors						Percent vacant	
			Resident				Non-resident			
			Full time		Part time					
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	Village									
All regions	609	624	44.0	43.1	34.5	33.7	12.6	16.2	8.9	7.0
Middle Atlantic	117	120	37.6	39.2	43.6	44.0	12.0	14.2	6.8	1.6
South	121	122	31.4	35.3	43.0	38.5	14.0	17.2	11.6	9.0
Middle West	243	251	52.6	47.0	31.7	30.7	9.1	16.3	6.6	6.0
Far West	128	131	45.3	46.6	23.4	24.4	18.8	16.8	12.5	12.2
	Country									
All regions	469	457	9.0	7.7	18.5	12.7	61.2	72.4	11.3	7.2
Middle Atlantic	100	99	5.0	5.1	21.0	11.1	64.0	76.7	10.0	7.1
South	168	172	1.2	0.6	17.9	7.0	71.4	85.4	9.5	7.0
Middle West	164	148	15.9	14.9	19.5	18.2	55.5	61.5	9.1	5.4
Far West	37	38	24.3	18.4	10.8	21.1	32.5	44.7	32.4	15.8

The larger proportion of open country churches served by resident ministers in the counties as compared to the villages is due to the larger number of open country churches at some distance from villages and towns. The poorer record of the village churches in the counties is due to the larger proportion of small villages in the county sample.

APPENDIX TABLE 67.—PASTORAL SERVICE IN WHITE PROTESTANT TOWN, VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES, BY REGION,—21 COUNTIES

Region	Number churches reporting		Percent of churches having pastors						Percent vacant	
			Resident				Non-resident			
			Full time		Part time					
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
	All churches									
All regions	908	900	25.2	25.9	15.5	19.2	50.7	48.2	8.6	6.7
Middle Atlantic	228	271	25.4	23.3	19.3	25.8	49.1	46.1	6.2	4.8
South	345	273	9.3	6.6	13.1	13.2	70.4	72.9	7.2	7.3
Middle West	217	204	34.1	35.8	15.2	17.7	37.8	38.2	12.9	8.3
Far West	118	152	55.1	52.0	16.1	20.4	19.5	21.0	9.3	6.6
	Town churches									
All regions	63	85	65.1	67.1	19.1	18.8	9.5	8.2	6.3	5.9
Middle Atlantic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South	13	17	84.6	58.8	0	23.5	15.4	5.9	0	11.8
Middle West	22	30	54.6	56.6	22.7	26.7	18.2	16.7	4.5	0
Far West	28	38	64.3	79.0	25.0	10.5	0	2.6	10.7	7.9
	Village churches									
All regions	301	284	42.2	43.3	24.2	28.5	24.6	23.3	9.0	4.9
Middle Atlantic	99	75	43.4	42.8	22.2	34.1	27.3	18.7	7.1	4.4
South	61	60	23.0	25.0	37.7	38.6	29.5	34.1	9.8	2.3
Middle West	81	61	43.2	45.9	25.9	23.0	21.0	26.2	9.0	4.9
Far West	60	88	58.3	51.1	11.7	21.6	20.0	20.5	10.0	6.8
	Country churches									
All regions	544	531	11.2	10.0	10.3	14.3	69.9	68.0	8.6	7.7
Middle Atlantic	129	122	11.6	10.9	17.1	21.9	65.9	62.0	5.4	5.2
South	271	270	2.6	0.9	8.1	7.3	82.3	84.0	7.0	7.8
Middle West	114	113	23.7	24.8	6.1	12.4	53.5	50.4	16.7	12.4
Far West	30	26	40.0	15.4	16.7	30.8	36.7	50.0	6.6	3.8

APPENDIX E

Appendix Table 68.—Length of Pastorate in All Village and Country Churches, 1930,—140 Villages

Region	No. churches reporting	Percent of churches reporting length of pastorate as							Percent vacant
		Less than 1 year	1 to 2	2 to 3	3 to 4	4 to 5	5 to 6	6 and over	
	Village								
All regions	699	14.2	20.6	17.3	11.3	7.6	5.4	16.7	6.9
Middle Atlantic	126	10.3	16.7	11.9	14.3	8.7	9.5	27.0	1.6
South—White	118	18.6	19.5	18.6	14.4	6.8	1.7	11.1	9.3
Negro	63	9.5	20.6	28.6	12.7	7.9	6.4	7.9	6.4
Middle West	268	12.7	22.8	17.9	9.3	7.1	5.1	19.0	5.6
Far West	124	19.3	21.0	14.5	8.9	8.1	4.0	11.3	12.9
	Country								
All regions	432	11.0	20.8	22.2	9.0	8.3	6.0	13.9	8.8
Middle Atlantic	94	13.8	16.0	19.2	6.4	10.6	7.4	19.2	7.4
South—White	133	15.1	21.8	26.3	7.5	7.5	2.3	10.5	9.0
Negro	45	4.4	11.1	31.1	8.9	11.1	6.7	15.6	11.1
Middle West	135	6.7	26.7	19.3	12.6	7.4	8.1	13.3	5.9
Far West	25	12.0	20.0	12.0	8.0	4.0	8.0	12.0	24.0

For comparable figures for 1924 see Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927) p. 310, Table 20.

Appendix Table 69.—Average Salary of Pastors in All Denominations, by Residence and by Region,—140 Villages

Region	All churches					Village				Country			
	Total		Resident	Non-resident		Total	Resident		Non-resident	Total	Resident		Non-resident
	1924	1930	1930	1924	1930	1930	1924	1930	1930	1930	1924	1930	1930
All regions	$1,441	$1,433	$1,571	$1,148	$1,107	$1,573	$1,592	$1,653	$1,164	$1,062	$1,014	$1,063	$1,061
Middle Atlantic	1,506	1,621	1,696	1,165	1,359	1,720	1,624	1,773	1,340	1,243	775	1,048	1,374
South	1,456	1,309	1,624	1,081	969	1,541	1,765	1,697	1,011	967	960	1,053	953
Middle West	1,435	1,495	1,582	1,208	1,201	1,214	1,556	1,674	1,273	1,135	1,110	1,128	1,142
Far West	1,396	1,279	1,327	1,122	1,085	1,340	1,480	1,396	1,099	909	658	856	1,035

APPENDIX TABLE 70.—AVERAGE SALARY OF PASTORS IN WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN 1930, BY RESIDENCE AND BY REGION

Region	140 villages			21 counties		
	Total	Resident	Non-resident	Total	Resident	Non-resident
	All churches					
All regions	$1,531	$1,649	$1,208	$1,409	$1,547	$1,049
Middle Atlantic	1,664	1,745	1,379	1,513	1,506	1,531
South	1,564	1,863	1,162	1,280	1,636	842
Middle West	1,520	1,619	1,204	1,366	1,467	1,042
Far West	1,345	1,392	1,128	1,543	1,592	1,002
	Village churches					
All regions	1,684	1,743	1,302	1,499	1,563	1,117
Middle Atlantic	1,788	1,837	1,387	1,640	1,661	1,481
South	1,865	1,934	1,416	1,570	1,642	1,222
Middle West	1,669	1,729	1,291	1,337	1,487	826
Far West	1,410	1,458	1,163	1,450	1,493	1,128
	Country churches					
All regions	1,125	1,079	1,153	1,125	1,234	1,008
Middle Atlantic	1,243	1,048	1,374	1,371	1,232	1,545
South	1,103	1,106	1,103	988	1,361	792
Middle West	1,132	1,228	1,142	1,210	1,272	1,077
Far West	944	925	994	668	729	0

APPENDIX TABLE 71.—PROTESTANT PASTORS WITH OTHER OCCUPATIONS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES, BY REGION

Region	21 counties				140 village communities			
	1920		1930		1924		1930	
	Number pastors reporting	Percent with other occupation	Number pastors reporting	Percent with other occupation	Number pastors reporting	Percent with other occupation	Number pastors reporting	Percent with other occupation
	Village							
All regions	279	11.5	316	14.6	589	15.3	590	18.1
Middle Atlantic	69	7.2	68	10.3	102	8.8	106	12.3
South—White	60	16.7	62	11.3	102	17.6	104	9.6
Negro	*	*	*	*	54	33.3	55	49.1
Middle West	80	15.0	79	13.9	218	9.6	230	12.2
Far West	70	7.1	107	19.6	113	21.2	95	30.5
	Country							
All regions	267	35.6	276	35.5	296	34.8	251	39.0
Middle Atlantic	58	27.6	65	24.6	46	23.9	29	24.1
South—White	131	46.6	126	46.8	85	32.9	85	44.7
Negro	*	*	*	*	51	45.1	33	66.7
Middle West	65	26.2	73	20.5	95	32.6	85	28.2
Far West	13	7.7	12	66.7	19	52.6	19	36.9

* Negro pastors not included in county sample.
Base less than 100 in most of the percents in this table.

APPENDIX E

Appendix Table 72.—Preaching Points Served by Resident and Non-resident Pastors of All Village and Country Churches, by Region,—140 Villages

Region	Resident pastors								Non-resident pastors			
	Village churches				Country churches				Number of pastors reporting		Average no. of points served	
	Number of pastors reporting		Average no. of points served		Number of pastors reporting		Average no. of points served					
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	484	631	1.6	1.7	57	89	2.1	1.9	227	317	3.1	3.0
Middle Atlantic	90	125	2.5	2.1	8	13	2.5	2.1	46	33	2.8	2.8
South	99	133	2.5	1.9	13	19	3.4	2.7	78	155	3.6	3.3
Middle West	215	264	1.6	1.6	30	45	1.6	1.6	83	94	3.0	2.7
Far West	80	109	1.3	1.3	6	12	1.1	1.3	20	35	2.2	2.8

Appendix Table 73.—Value of Church Buildings and Parsonages of Protestant Village and Country Churches, by Region

Region	21 counties				140 village communities			
	Village		Country		Village		Country	
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	Churches							
All regions	$6,437	$12,461	$2,750	$4,603	$11,937	$14,126	$2,932	$3,232
Middle Atlantic*	7,697	14,649	3,451	5,381	16,811	21,327	3,084	3,338
South—White	6,838	12,845	1,516	3,913	13,691	16,081	1,980	2,207
Negro	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,778	2,917	1,700	2,250
Middle West	6,308	10,218	3,752	5,609	12,189	14,274	4,490	4,757
Far West	4,028	11,899	1,965	3,239	8,721	10,740	2,184	3,223
	Parsonages							
All regions	.....	3,840	.....	2,694	3,841	4,162	2,058	2,752
Middle Atlantic*	.....	4,504	.....	2,160	4,038	4,892	2,084	2,514
South—White	.....	3,813	.....	2,944	4,219	4,779	1,241	2,365
Negro	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,365	1,209	1,038	1,331
Middle West	.....	3,604	.....	3,349	4,027	4,310	2,710	3,537
Far West	.....	3,408	.....	1,778	3,149	2,991	1,603	1,461

* In county study Middle Atlantic includes New England.

The county figures for all regions do not include colored churches and are therefore higher proportionately than the corresponding 140 village figures.

APPENDIX TABLE 74.—AVERAGE EXPENDITURES PER CHURCH AND PER MEMBER IN WHITE PROTESTANT VILLAGE CHURCHES IN 1930, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Small villages			Medium villages			Large villages		
	Number churches	Per church	Per member	Number churches	Per church	Per member	Number churches	Per church	Per member
All regions	158	$1,896	$14.68	223	$2,882	$17.82	195	$2,867	$17.26
Middle Atlantic	54	1,825	14.48	37	4,492	21.30	22	3,387	20.69
South	31	1,642	12.20	37	2,828	16.38	51	2,933	15.78
Middle West	57	2,234	15.51	117	2,603	16.57	68	3,091	16.26
Far West	16	1,423	18.81	32	1,931	19.62	54	2,311	19.64

APPENDIX TABLE 75.—DISTRIBUTION OF PER CAPITA CONTRIBUTIONS IN PROTESTANT VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Salary		Benevolences		Other	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	Village churches					
All regions	$7.16	$ 8.09	$5.64	$3.54	$4.09	$4.74
Middle Atlantic	6.58	7.82	6.09	4.42	4.42	6.37
South—White	6.64	7.56	6.57	3.69	3.12	3.98
Negro	4.34	4.94	0.96	1.16	1.87	1.11
Middle West	7.54	8.06	5.73	3.38	4.54	4.80
Far West	6.18	11.13	5.13	3.50	4.72	4.91
	Country churches					
All regions	$4.94	$ 4.41	$3.28	$2.15	$2.02	$2.01
Middle Atlantic	5.97	6.50	3.42	2.67	3.21	3.18
South—White	2.88	2.91	1.44	1.03	1.07	1.45
Negro	2.05	2.23	0.57	0.63	0.56	1.10
Middle West	5.30	6.03	4.81	3.89	2.28	2.65
Far West	6.18	9.22	4.31	4.16	1.84	2.75

APPENDIX E

Appendix Table 76.—Specified Data by Number of Churches per 1,000 Population in 1930, by Region,—140 Villages

Number of churches per 1,000 population	Number of communities				Total number of churches			
	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.
Under 2	6	4	11	7	31	28	68	45
2 to 3	6	6	28	8	48	131	197	18
3 to 4	4	9	14	5	26	119	129	55
4 and over	12	11	7	2	133	170	63	12

	Average resident church membership				Percent of churches with resident minister			
	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.
Under 2	238	227	199	125	96.6	70.8	66.5	62.0
2 to 3	155	120	156	119	69.6	29.9	67.2	76.4
3 to 4	121	119	118	87	60.0	44.2	60.3	61.7
4 and over	83	94	104	54	42.9	29.3	60.0	58.3

	Percent of churches gaining last year				Average attendance principal service				Average Sunday school enrollment			
	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.
Under 2	68.0	47.6	67.1	68.8	121	160	101	75	166	127	101	112
2 to 3	71.4	69.6	60.5	67.2	80	92	105	60	109	96	118	89
3 to 4	54.5	66.3	62.7	59.5	78	93	91	58	114	97	94	86
4 and over	43.6	68.8	49.1	63.6	52	82	80	49	89	76	106	69

	Average church expenditure				Per capita expenditure				Average benevolences			
	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.
Under 2	$4,913	$2,480	$2,762	$1,951	$22.37	$13.08	$13.61	$16.53	$ 969	$458	$563	$331
2 to 3	2,857	1,070	2,266	1,795	19.52	8.81	14.32	15.22	1,110	261	502	410
3 to 4	1,700	1,294	1,967	1,624	14.08	10.98	16.41	21.08	377	283	422	279
4 and over	1,278	791	1,499	928	14.71	8.35	14.05	17.28	271	163	316	155

	Percent of churches with home mission aid				Percent of population in church membership				No. of resident ministers per 1,000 inhabitants			
	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.
Under 2	7.4	12.5	8.0	16.1	33.1	26.9	30.1	16.2	1.4	0.7	0.9	0.9
2 to 3	7.1	18.1	11.5	24.6	33.8	28.8	35.2	24.6	2.3	0.6	1.5	1.6
3 to 4	13.6	21.4	11.3	25.6	33.8	38.0	38.9	22.4	3.0	1.3	1.9	1.8
4 and over	21.9	14.1	10.0	44.4	40.0	48.1	46.6	24.1	4.6	1.4	2.4	2.6

	Percent of population enrolled in Sunday school				Local expenditure of church per inhabitant				Home mission aid per inhabitant			
	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.	M.A.	So.	M.W.	F.W.
Under 2	23.9	12.3	13.9	16.3	$6.85	$2.42	$3.87	$2.16	$0.05	$0.07	$0.03	$0.10
2 to 3	22.1	20.3	24.7	18.1	6.19	2.45	5.03	3.33	0.03	0.04	0.08	0.15
3 to 4	33.4	29.9	26.7	21.8	4.76	4.21	6.37	4.41	0.20	0.22	0.08	0.20
4 and over	38.8	32.4	42.4	28.2	5.50	3.96	6.53	4.16	0.18	0.09	0.07	0.06

APPENDIX TABLE 77.—HOME MISSION AID IN WHITE PROTESTANT VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES, BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES*

Region	Number of communities with aided churches		Number of aided churches		Average amount of home mission aid	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
	Village churches					
All regions	71	68	92	89	$350	$393
Middle Atlantic	12	11	15	14	284	384
South	18	12	19	18	333	450
Middle West	26	27	38	32	367	335
Far West	15	18	20	25	383	425
	Country churches					
All regions	35	37	63	87	198	153
Middle Atlantic	7	7	17	18	155	130
South	9	14	24	46	149	113
Middle West	14	10	13	15	184	185
Far West	5	6	9	8	430	362

* The average grant in the counties for village churches was $339. In towns of from 2,500 to 10,000 population it was $663; in the open country $180 per church.

APPENDIX TABLE 78.—DENOMINATIONS AIDED AND AVERAGE GRANT OF WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES HAVING HOME MISSION AID

Denomination	21 counties				140 villages	
	Percent aided		Average grant		Percent aided	Average grant
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1930	1930
All churches	23.8	21.4	$216	$279	17.4	$273
Protestant Episcopal	48.9	70.6	201	277	43.6	609
Methodist Episcopal, North	27.3	25.3	118	171	15.0	183
Methodist Episcopal, South	43.5	33.4	164	287	27.9	83
Baptist North	11.1	19.0	470	353	27.5	440
Baptist South	14.3	5.0	327	386	10.8	171
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	19 5	25.4	380	247	17.2	368
Presbyterian, U.S.	....	....	....	....	41.9	229
Congregational	23.1	39.0	251	191		
Lutheran	24.6	19.3	*	544	13.5	326
Disciples	6.3	5.0	*	130	4.1	248
United Brethren	....	....	....	....	40.7	243
Nazarene	....	....	....	....	33.3	197
Methodist Protestant	....	....	....	....	27.3	133
Federated	....	....	....	....	25.0	162
Evangelical	....	....	....	....	22.2	229
All other	19.8	13.6	*	324	7.9	312

* Not obtained.

Appendix F

SOURCE DATA ON OTHER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Schools

Appendix Table 79.—Changes in Numbers of Rural Grade Schools,—140 Villages

Region	Number in 1924	Closed, consolidated or now outside area	New or added by increased area	Number in 1930	Net change
	All villages				
All regions	1,549*	229	185	1,505	−44
Middle Atlantic	288	50	40	278	−10
South	216	75	27	168	−48
Middle West	800	55	98	843	+43
Far West	245	49	20	216	−29
	Small villages				
All regions	378	72	38	344	−34
Middle Atlantic	122	30	23	115	− 7
South	38	19	3	22	−16
Middle West	198	22	10	186	−12
Far West	20	1	2	21	+ 1
	Medium villages				
All regions	672	106	76	642	−30
Middle Atlantic	100	13	8	95	− 5
South	80	38	0	42	−38
Middle West	358	26	53	385	+27
Far West	134	29	15	120	−14
	Large villages				
All regions	499	51	71	519	+20
Middle Atlantic	66	7	9	68	+ 2
South	98	18	24	104	+ 6
Middle West	244	7	35	272	+28
Far West	91	19	3	75	−16

* This total is 39 higher than that given in the 1924 survey when 39 schools, from which no detailed information was secured, were omitted in the computation.

APPENDIX TABLE 80.—SCHOOLS IN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND VILLAGES WITH FOUR-YEAR HIGH SCHOOL COURSES,—140 VILLAGES

Region	No. of villages	High schools		Grade schools		Private and parochial	Village high school with four year course		
		Village	Rural	Village	Rural		Regular	Senior and Junior	Less than four years
All regions	140	142	22	143	1,505	23	121	13	8
Middle Atlantic	28	29	5	28	278	1	24	4	1
South	30	31	2	31	168	0	22	2	7
Middle West	60	60	9	60	843	15	54	6	0
Far West	22	22	6	24	216	5	21	1	0

APPENDIX TABLE 81.—PROPORTION OF OPEN COUNTRY PUPILS IN VILLAGE HIGH AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN 1930, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Size of village and region	High school	Elementary school
	Percent	Percent
Small villages		
All regions	55.5	36.4
Middle Atlantic	58.9	15.3
South	58.2	65.0
Middle West	54.8	27.1
Far West	45.9	32.7
Medium villages		
All regions	49.3	25.9
Middle Atlantic	57.5	17.9
South	51.9	41.0
Middle West	44.1	20.4
Far West	51.2	29.6
Large villages		
All regions	45.8	19.9
Middle Atlantic	38.8	6.0
South	47.3	35.7
Middle West	48.1	8.2
Far West	44.7	18.3

APPENDIX TABLE 82.—PROPORTION OF SCHOOL BUDGET USED FOR INSTRUCTION, BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF VILLAGE,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Percent of budget							
	All villages		Small villages		Medium villages		Large villages	
	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930	1924	1930
All regions	70.1	66.2	68.2	66.2	69.2	66.0	71.8	66.4
Middle Atlantic	74.8	68.7	63.4	65.0	79.7	70.7	74.7	70.4
South	72.2	72.9	71.9	74.2	71.1	75.3	72.9	70.7
Middle West	68.2	66.1	71.3	66.6	67.3	64.8	68.4	68.3
Far West	68.4	62.7	61.1	61.6	71.6	61.5	73.4	63.5

APPENDIX F

Appendix Table 83.—Teaching Cost per Pupil in Village and Country Schools in 1930, by Region and by Size of Village,—140 Villages

Region	Small villages	Medium villages	Large villages
	Village high schools		
All regions	$80.64	$ 79.07	$ 86.42
Middle Atlantic	91.60	71.58	97.60
South	53.34	55.04	69.35
Middle West	90.24	83.66	77.90
Far West	75.16	101.11	102.89
	Village grade schools		
All regions	32.26	35.89	31.24
Middle Atlantic	39.45	46.52	42.84
South	19.08	23.37	16.85
Middle West	38.34	35.37	36.74
Far West	34.88	42.92	37.89
	Country grade schools		
All regions	35.70	41.23	39.13
Middle Atlantic	38.07	38.33	56.64
South	16.03	23.95	28.25
Middle West	44.05	39.55	39.44
Far West	34.93	61.82	49.10

Appendix Table 84.—Average Salary of Teachers in Village and Country Schools in 1930, by Region and by Size of Village,—140 Villages

Region	Small villages		Medium villages		Large villages	
	Village	Country	Village	Country	Village	Country
All regions	$1,260	$ 829	$1,372	$ 912	$1,451	$ 851
Middle Atlantic	1,430	866	1,485	997	1,433	920
South	962	583	1,051	728	1,148	708
Middle West	1,273	806	1,359	870	1,374	795
Far West	1,322	1,080	1,598	1,041	1,728	1,170

Appendix Table 85.—Proportion in School of Specified Age Groups in Total Rural and Urban and in the 177 Villages, by Region

	Total 7–20		7–13		14 and 15		16 and 17		18–20	
	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
U. S. urban	67.9	75.0	94.4	97.3	80.7	92.7	39.2	60.5	14.0	22.5
U. S. rural	68.3	72.9	87.6	93.3	79.4	85.0	46.1	53.9	15.6	20.0
177 villages	75.8	79.0	93.6	96.0	89.1	91.6	63.3	71.7	27.2	33.3
Middle Atlantic	75.1	80.9	96.0	96.2	91.1	97.4	56.5	74.6	25.2	34.8
South	72.1	73.5	88.6	92.6	84.4	83.5	62.5	62.4	25.1	29.5
Middle West	78.5	80.9	97.1	97.5	91.0	93.9	65.8	74.5	30.0	34.7
Far West	76.7	82.8	92.9	98.1	90.9	95.5	64.5	79.0	26.7	35.6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

APPENDIX TABLE 86.—SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS PER 1,000 COMMUNITY POPULATION BY SIZE OF SHOPPING CENTER AND DISTANCE FROM THAT CENTER, AND BY REGION,—140 VILLAGES

Region	Under 25 miles	25 to 50 miles	50 miles and over
	Under 10,000 population		
All regions	6.0	7.5	4.1
Middle Atlantic	6.5	11.3	*
South	2.5	4.0	1.3
Middle West	11.0	7.2	4.5
Far West	6.6	7.1	17.5
	10,000 to 25,000 population		
All regions	4.7	5.7	4.6
Middle Atlantic	5.9	9.4	*
South	2.7	3.0	3.2
Middle West	*	6.6	8.4
Far West	6.2	6.1	*
	25,000 and over		
All regions	7.7	5.9	6.1
Middle Atlantic	7.7	10.2	7.6
South	1.8	1.6	2.3
Middle West	9.2	7.2	8.4
Far West	5.9	6.7	6.9

* No village.

APPENDIX TABLE 87.—AGES OF PHYSICIANS IN FOUR STATES, BY SIZE OF PLACE, FIRST AND THIRD QUARTILES

Size of place	New York*		South Carolina		Iowa		Washington	
	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931
	First quartile							
Total state	57.3	57.2	51.1	55.7	55.0	59.3	52.7	56.6
Under 250	62.0	65.8	54.4	60.0	55.1	63.5	59.1	62.2
250 to 1,000	61.4	63.5	52.5	56.7	54.8	60.6	55.5	61.0
1,000 to 1,750	60.6	62.7	56.0	60.0	57.1	59.3	54.3	58.5
1,750 to 2,500	58.2	62.2	52.4	59.9	59.4	62.9	54.1	55.9
2,500 to 5,000	58.6	59.2	52.2	54.0	56.0	62.4	56.2	56.9
5,000 to 10,000	59.6	58.7	51.5	57.0	57.7	51.8	48.5	58.7
10,000 to 25,000	56.9	57.4	46.7	52.7	56.5	59.1	50.7	53.3
25,000 to 50,000	56.2	56.6	48.2	54.0	53.3	58.4	54.9	56.5
50,000 to 100,000	53.0	54.7	46.0	53.2	52.4	56.5	55.5	....
100,000 and over	53.9	53.3	....	....	52.3	57.8	51.1	56.2
	Third quartile							
Total state	36.5	34.1	33.6	38.3	38.1	40.4	38.1	38.1
Under 250	42.3	34.9	36.8	44.1	37.8	50.0	42.4	44.1
250 to 1,000	41.2	37.3	33.9	41.0	38.7	44.9	40.2	42.4
1,000 to 1,750	39.6	37.1	34.4	40.7	38.6	42.9	45.0	41.4
1,750 to 2,500	35.0	35.9	33.4	41.9	40.9	45.7	35.2	42.3
2,500 to 5,000	38.9	36.5	45.5	36.7	39.3	42.8	38.9	35.2
5,000 to 10,000	37.2	35.0	33.9	40.2	39.2	42.8	35.7	35.2
10,000 to 25,000	36.5	35.0	33.3	37.6	38.8	40.6	38.0	36.5
25,000 to 50,000	36.8	35.5	33.1	36.2	37.0	37.4	35.1	39.2
50,000 to 100,000	34.9	32.5	30.4	33.3	35.8	39.5	39.2	....
100,000 and over	34.1	32.5	....	....	36.9	37.4	37.4	37.7

* Excluding New York City.

Appendix G

SOCIAL UTILITIES AND WEALTH

IN THE steady development of the United States from a trackless virgin continent to the greatest industrial nation in the World—a development fortunately coinciding with the industrial revolution—there grew up a philosophy, unchallenged for half a century until recently, that tomorrow would always be better than today. Increasing material progress came to be assumed. That there would always be wealth to finance such progress was taken for granted.

A growing country called for ever more goods, and industry prospered. Rising land values similarly brought dividends to agriculture. Stimulated by the World War and its results, national productive capacity outstripped national demand. Industry joined agriculture as an exporter of a growing volume of commodities. Then came the world-wide depression. As a result, the economic bases of material progress appear less stable than was imagined, and in that depression agriculture suffered first and longest. The question as to what social and other utilities the rural community can achieve or afford, and what part wealth plays in securing them, has become more insistent.

One of the trends of the last decade or more has been the growing attention paid to the problems of national and state wealth and income. In such studies the National Bureau of Economic Research has led the way. Various advertising and other commercial organizations interested in markets and sales have also done some work, but the problem is far more than one of determining sales quotas. It concerns social utilities such as new schools, churches, libraries, paved streets, and the like. Thousands of villages, townships and counties, struggling to pay debts in a time quite different from the future envisaged when the debts were contracted, as well as their creditors, can testify to this.

With many municipalities in difficulty, but with achievement still lagging far behind what is known to be the best social practice, the question of how to make possible further progress becomes acute. How can a municipality determine whether it can afford a new school costing $100,000 or $300,000, or none at all; whether it can add a department to its high school or make other similar decisions? How can a banker determine whether the decision of a municipality is within the bounds of what constitutes a good lending risk? How can a church decide how much money it has a moral right to ask of a community for a new building without postponing or preventing other social benefits?

This study cannot answer these questions. The sample of municipalities was too small. Much more research is needed. It is believed, however, that the data for such research now exist and that given time, money, and intelligence it would be possible to make progress in solving these problems. But while they lie outside the province of this discussion, it is hoped that this chapter can contribute to the understanding of the possible relation of one index, wealth, to social conditions.

The question arises immediately as to how to measure wealth and as to what factors are associated with its presence. In an earlier study by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, as is explained later, the device was employed of taking the assessed value of any given municipality, raising it to par and dividing by the number of households. The result was called a "household wealth index."[1] Significant correlations were obtained in using this index with a limited number of places. Its value is further demonstrated by the use of two sets of data made available for the first time by the 1930 United States Census; namely, the data on retail sales and on the value of owned homes and the rents of leased homes. When retail sales in the 140 villages were correlated with the value of owned homes and the rental of rented homes, positive coefficients of +.697 and +.674, respectively, were found. Similar correlations with the effect of population eliminated were +.77 and +.78.

Property values alone, in view of the collapse of real estate prices in 1931 and 1932, do not represent as satisfactory an index as they did before 1929. It appeared increasingly that the best basis for judgment was the data on retail sales presented by the 1930 United States Census of Distribution. However, a number of business organizations, and the United States Department of Commerce in its Market Data Handbook,[2] have presented data which must be considered in a discussion of wealth and in developing a truly accurate wealth index. These factors are listed in Appendix Table 88, together with the results obtained by applying them to the tiers of counties surrounding the eighteen urban areas selected for the study of rural-urban relationships described in Chapter V.

Not all of these items are wholly satisfactory when the question of the wealth of rural localities is under discussion. The urban advantage in telephones is slight, and due in part to the larger proportion of professional persons such as physicians, nurses, teachers, and others whose offices are in residences. The rural advantage in automobiles reflects the fact that this machine is more of a necessity and less of a convenience on the farm than in the city. Postal receipts show the concentration of large business organizations in cities. Savings deposits per capita give no indication as to the residence of the depositor. With the tendency of rural people to use

[1] *Cf.* Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927) chap. x.

[2] Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1929.

APPENDIX TABLE 88.—VARIOUS COMMUNITY FACTORS AFFECTED BY WEALTH, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region	Total	City county	Tiers of counties			
			1	2	3	4
	Individual income tax returns per 1,000 population					
All regions	24.2	38.8	16.6	14.2	15.1	18.0
Middle Atlantic	25.5	32.9	20.6	14.8	14.6	
South	14.9	29.0	5.6	5.7	7.7	13.0
Middle West	25.3	42.5	20.9	17.5	18.1	20.1
Far West	46.8	63.9	28.5	27.2	25.3	21.3
	Residence telephones per 1,000 population					
All regions	114.7	131.9	102.5	103.2	104.6	101.9
Middle Atlantic	109.7	131.2	91.7	87.3	88.9	
South	56.6	89.0	38.0	42.3	36.5	55.0
Middle West	156.7	153.5	158.4	162.0	163.8	149.0
Far West	114.7	131.9	102.5	103.2	104.6	101.9
	Passenger automobiles per 1,000 population					
All regions	194.6	193.1	201.8	199.8	200.3	209.8
Middle Atlantic	196.1	192.7	207.4	216.0	199.5	
South	122.9	139.4	121.8	108.7	120.9	124.2
Middle West	243.4	231.2	251.8	251.1	249.5	258.6
Far West	237.0	221.6	258.1	269.3	252.4	240.4
	Postal receipts per capita					
All regions	$ 4.56	$ 8.45	$ 2.55	$ 2.60	$ 2.60	$ 2.49
Middle Atlantic	4.85	7.02	2.87	3.42	2.60	
South	3.08	6.40	1.05	1.16	1.37	1.90
Middle West	5.12	10.50	3.50	3.17	3.48	2.58
Far West	6.54	9.59	3.28	3.66	3.04	3.21
	Savings deposits per capita					
All regions	$133.47	$168.31	$107.21	$111.09	$ 88.23	$ 88.93
Middle Atlantic	204.28	223.02	204.59	227.68	123.68	
South	57.03	102.59	25.96	32.90	32.37	31.02
Middle West	119.30	131.79	117.54	114.25	99.32	114.51
Far West	306.09	411.26	168.73	159.69	159.20	124.63

urban banks and the development of branch banking, as described in Chapter VI, it is evident that these results are weighted against the rural counties.

However, these indices are suggestive and have some, even though not complete, validity. To test them, a series of partial correlations using total

retail sales were worked out for the state of Iowa, omitting Polk County in which Des Moines is located.[1] In correlation the effect of population was eliminated. The correlations so obtained follow:

Retail sales and income tax returns	.69
Retail sales and postal receipts	.41
Retail sales and residence phones	.17
Retail sales and passenger automobiles	.32
Retail sales and savings deposits	.22

These correlations would seem to indicate that retail sales are a better index of purchasing power and probably of wealth than any of the other items.

The discussion thus far has not considered the question of income. In an attempt to arrive at this factor, the per capita value of mining products, combined with manufacturing and farm crops sold, was used to secure per capita income from these sources. It is recognized that this figure does not include income from the sales of service nor from investment. It represents therefore the income from productive enterprises. The results in terms of regions and by tiers are expressed in Appendix Table 89.

APPENDIX TABLE 89.—PER CAPITA COMBINED INCOME FROM MINING PRODUCTS, MANUFACTURING AND FARM CROPS SOLD, BY REGION AND BY TIERS OF COUNTIES,—18 AREAS

Region	City county	Tiers of counties			
		1	2	3	4
All regions	$357.28	$343.13	$311.94	$357.87	$364.23
Middle Atlantic	461.95	406.88	321.40	592.40	
South	267.40	180.15	181.68	225.92	253.61
Middle West	399.62	434.62	383.47	361.92	478.39
Far West	321.76	416.29	438.21	441.03	301.84

It will be noted that the income in the rural tiers, figured on this basis compares favorably with that in the city county. There would be more difference if the per capita value of services by doctors, lawyers and others could be estimated. It is not without significance, however, that when this income is correlated with retail sales, eliminating the effects of population, the resulting correlation of +.02 shows no relationship. It would seem clear, therefore, that despite the fact, as shown in Chapter VI, that an appreciable portion of rural purchases is made in cities, retail sales furnish the best available single index of the purchasing power of a given community or area. This index will therefore be applied first to the counties, using the correlation technique, and then to the 140 village communities

[1] The partial correlation technique indicates the relationships between two variables when the effect of a third variable is eliminated by holding it quantitatively consistent or functionally independent.

relating to a few selected social factors. The importance of the relationships of this measure of wealth to other social and economic measures has rarely, if ever, been quantitatively expressed.

First of all it is important to note that the positive relationship between population and wealth, noted in the case of the 140 villages in the first study of these places by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, obtains when applied to the tiers of counties; where population density and per capita sales are correlated the resulting coefficients are +.25 for the City County and +.32, +.19, +.04 and +.02 for Tiers One to Four, respectively. This indicates that wealth is not independent of population density in the more urban tiers, but that when the more rural tiers are considered these two factors are independent.

Similarly, the correlation coefficients between population growth[1] and retail sales per capita 1930 are reported, indicating that growth is related to wealth and wealth is related to growth and that the relationship is highest in the City County, next highest in Tiers One and Two and the least definitely positive in Tiers Three and Four-through-Eight.

	Tiers of Counties			
City County	1	2	3	4–8
+.571.....	+.415	+.452	+.283	+.296

The ability of the community to pay, and the percent of persons 18–20 years of age availing themselves of the opportunity for higher education are revealed by the following correlations between retail sales per capita and the proportion of pupils eighteen to twenty years of age in school.

	Tiers of Counties			
City County	1	2	3	4–8
+.608.....	+.547	+.523	+.468	+.468

These coefficients indicate that wealth is most important in the relationship to pupils 18–20 years of age in school in the city county; and the farther away from the City County one goes the more probable that factors other than sheer wealth contribute to the proportion of youths in school. This agrees with the data on the actual proportions of this age-group in school already presented in Chapters V and VII.

An interesting partial or net correlation is that between per capita retail sales and the birth-rate. Eliminating the effect of the rural farm population, the coefficients are −.38 for the City County, and −.42, −.71, −.40, and −.01 for Tiers One and outward. The wealthier the county, the smaller is the birth-rate. Poverty is positively correlated with the birth-rate out to Tier Three. In Tier Four and beyond, the low correlation is due to the high proportion of farmers in the population, indicating that in the further counties the birth-rate is primarily a function of the agricultural population.

[1] $\frac{\text{Population 1930—Population 1920}}{\text{Population 1930}}$

WEALTH VARIATIONS IN VILLAGES

In its initial study of American Agricultural Villages, the Institute of Social and Religious Research attempted to find an index adequate for measuring variations in village wealth. As noted above after experimenting with many, it finally chose an index of per household wealth, arrived at by raising the assessed valuation of the village to par and dividing by the number of households.[1] In brief, significant positive correlations were found between this index and such things as the number of households, value of farms, bank deposits, the presence of public improvements such as sewage disposal plants, paved streets, etc., the number of unemployed persons over sixty-five years of age, certain aspects of school attendance, proportion of adult males in church, and, among others, the presence of such social utilities as libraries and public health nurses.

It was planned in the present investigation to carry this line of inquiry further; but the use of the former index had to be abandoned. In two-fifths of the villages surveyed neither assessors, tax collectors, bankers or real estate men would make any statements of the ratio of assessed to true value. They claimed that the untoward economic conditions of the early 1930's made such estimates impossible. In other places, estimates were frankly labelled as guesses. It was pointed out that in many of the sales that had taken place the price was under, and sometimes as much as 50 percent under, the assessed valuation of the property bought.

It was necessary therefore to find a new index. Fortunately in 1930 the United States had made a Census of Distribution and the total retail sales of each village were made available. These divided by the population of the community gave a per capita retail sales figure.[2] This procedure gave effect to the purchases made in the village by the farm families and other families living outside the municipality but within the community, though as Chapter VI showed not all the purchases of these families were made in the village. There was a positive correlation, however, of +.39 between retail sales and the open-country population.

Per capita retail sales based on the community population were therefore related to various items. The effect of wealth, so far as it can be measured by retail sales per capita on the basis of the community population, seems to be clearly indicated.

Per pupil teaching cost and per capita contributions to churches, and especially to social organizations, show a decided tendency to increase with the increase in per capita retail sales. The variation in the first of

[1] For a complete discussion of why this index proved more satisfactory than others, and for a discussion of the methodology employed and the results achieved, *cf.* Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927), chapter x.

[2] This figure, as pointed out in chapter vi, failed to include the sales for open-country stores within the community but outside the village. It is therefore an under-estimate.

these comparisons is less clear than with the others because of the efforts of state boards of education to raise salaries. But the number of pupils per teacher dropped steadily as per capita sales increased, indicating that wealthier communities had richer curricula or gave more individual attention to the pupils.

Wealth as measured by per capita retail sales directly influences the likelihood of a community having a public library; but its effect on the presence or absence of public-health nurses is not pronounced; because health interests, as was shown in Chapter IX, are increasingly becoming a charge on the county or state. If only such villages as met the entire cost of such nurses were considered, all nurses would be found in the communities with higher per capita retail sales. This discussion has shown that wealth as measured by retail sales is related to a number of social phenomena.

No relationship was discovered between the wealth index used and the proportion of males sixty-five years of age and over who were gainfully

APPENDIX TABLE 90.—RELATION OF WEALTH, AS INDICATED BY THE AMOUNT OF PER CAPITA RETAIL SALES, TO VARIOUS COMMUNITY FACTORS,—140 VILLAGES

	Community retail sales per capita				
	Under $200	$200 to $300	$300 to $400	$400 to $500	$500 and over
Number of villages	33	34	37	24	12
Village grade schools					
Pupils per teacher	39	40	31	31	33
Teaching cost per pupil	$26.10	$28.99	$34.13	$42.80	$38.38
Per 1,000 community population					
Number of social organizations	3.8	5.1	7.0	8.4	7.8
Number of churches	3.2	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.9
Church contributions per member	$ 9.84	$13.05	$14.48	$18.38	$16.92
Social organizations contributions per member	3.60	3.94	4.91	4.95	5.56
*Percent villages having					
Library	25.8	54.8	54.3	75.0	91.7
Public health nurse	39.4	58.8	43.2	62.5	50.0
Percent village homes					
Owned	56.4	58.6	63.1	62.3	58.0
Rented	43.6	41.4	36.9	37.7	42.0
Percent employed of males 65 and over	48.2	49.5	44.9	50.6	45.2

* Base less than 100.

employed. This agrees with the finding in Chapter II that a higher proportion of such persons were employed in 1930, than in 1920. Similarly, the employment of women seems to be related not to wealth but to opportunity for wage earning.

Finally, the number of churches and social organizations were related to the per capita retail sales. The latter seems to increase with wealth, as do the former, except that the poorest places have the largest number of

churches which they support, as noted, more inadequately than do other places. This confirms an observation frequently made in various studies of the church situation by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. The details of these comparisons are contained in Appendix Table 90.

Probably other relationships could be established. It must be remembered, however, that this relationship is established within the present framework of society. It is an indication, as is much else in this volume, of the 1930 community standard of living. What a community can afford, and what it does afford, goes back, in the last analysis, to the values that a community has. If education or some other social force changes the values of the community, if social policy affects a re-distribution of wealth in order to achieve other values that eventually appear more desirable than those now held, the relationships here sketched will change.

It must be recognized also that this series of correlations is based on an empirical assumption that wealth can be measured by ability to buy, and that ability to buy in turn is measured by per capita retail sales. It is believed, however, that the results are significant enough to justify further study of the relation of per capita retail sales and expenses for many social purposes, such as education, health, social service, religion and the like, with a view to coming closer to an answer to the question raised at the opening of this discussion.

INDEX

(Page numbers in **boldface** type indicate main treatment of topic. Abbreviations: f—figure; n—footnote; t—table.)

A

Acknowledgments, 319
Adult education, given more attention, 202
  state extension service, 203
Age changes, social implications of, 129
Age distribution (*see* Population and Rural-urban relationships).
Aging of population, less, 127
Agricultural relations, 133
  effects of distance from city, 124
"The Agricultural Situation," 9n, 42n
Agricultural village population (*see* Population).
Agricultural villages (*see* Villages).
Agriculture, country life and, **37–72**
  effect on role of villages, 89
  influence of rural-urban relations, **133–143**
  legislative trends in relation to, 58
  mechanized, and over-production, 44
  relative importance of, 38
American Country Life Association, 60, 286
American Library Association, 205n
American Red Cross, 270
Anderson, 13n
Appendix, list of tables, 309–312
Ashby, A. W., 61n
Athletics, expansion in school program, 201
Automobiles on farms, 63

B

"Back-to-the-land" movement, 11, 12, 301
Baker, O. E., 9n, 43n, 46n, 48n
Banking, and credit agencies, **165–167**
  service in Walworth County, Wisconsin, 99
Bean, 11n
Beck, 13n, 50n
Biennial Survey of Education, 186, 187, 191
Birth-rate, declining, 126
  (*See* also Fecundity.)
Blackhawk County, Iowa, case study, 327
Boone County, Missouri, case study, 326
Boonville, New York, community and trade areas, 98f
  community area changes, 97
Bradstreet Book of Commercial Ratings, 145
Brindley, W. A., 327n
Brown, Josephine, 271
Brunner, Edmund de S., 14n, 18n, 20n, 58n, 93n, 155n, 160n, 184n, 201n, 208n, 212n, 227n, 239n, 242n, 258n, 259n, 276n, 282n, 294n, 299n, 314n, 316n, 324n, 378n
Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 8, 9, 12, 41, 45, 47
Buying power disparity, 45

C

Canon, 159n
Canwood, 249n, 254n
Census of Distribution, 144n, 145n, 151, 161n, 162
Cereals, and vegetables, ratio of, 139
Chain stores, **149–151**
Children, fewer, 21
  proportion in population, 18 areas, 120f
    in 177 villages, 30
  ratio to women, in 18 areas, 118
    in Des Moines area, 115
  proportion under 10, in 18 areas, 120
  in school, 31
Church, the, **208–241**
  activities and programs varied, 222
  attendance, proportion in population, 221
  budgets, annual, 231
  buildings, improved, 229
  contributions of members, 231
  coöperation or competition, 233–241
  Daily Vacation Bible School, 224
  educational features, 225
  emotional sects, 212
  foreign-language, 238
  funds, changes in utilization, 232
  financing the work of, 230
  home mission aid, 236
  immersionist sects, 212
  leadership of, professional and salaried, 226
  membership, gain in country, 209
    inactive and non-resident, 218
    increased village, by country losses, 210
    proportion of population in, 219
  ministers, age of, unchanged, 229
    resident and non-resident, 227
    salary of, 228
    training of, 226
  number of per 1,000 population, 233
  number and size, **211–222**
  organizations, work through, 224
  pastorates, short-time, 228
  preaching services of, 222
  professional workers, enlistment of, 224
  religious education, 223
  rural, birth rates of, 214
    comparisons of birth and death rates, 215
    death rates of, 211
  social programs and events, 225
  survey, use of the social and parish, 226
  trends, according to population, 235
    toward larger membership, 217
    villageward, 209–211

Cities, groups attracted by, 13–14
37 medium-sized compared with 177 villages, 32n
Clark, Charles E., 54n, 149n, 285n
Clergy, age unchanged, 229
resident and non-resident, 227
salary, 228
training, 226
Codington County Farm and Home Economics Conference, 60n
Committee on Relation of Electricity to Agriculture, 64
Community areas, 140 villages, 93
variations associated, with size and growth of villages, 95
with types of services, 97
Community fairs, 104
Competition, foreign, 44
Consumer demands, changing, 47
Consumption of food products, changes in, 48t
Cook, Katherine, 183
Coombs, Whitney, 46n
Coöperation, **53–58**
conflicts, 58
in country-village relations, 106–107
membership gain, 53, 55
opposition to, 54
rise of cooperative buying and selling, 53
in social and recreational organizations, 257
Coöperation or competition, in the churches, **233–241**
Corson, 13n
Counties, as administrative units, 289
surveyed, 318
Country life and agriculture, **37–72**
Country-village relations, **86–110**
changes in coöperation and conflict, 106–110
greater association of people, 104–110
joint enterprises, 104
community fairs, 104
mutual fire protection, 105
organization activities, 105
occupational changes, 87
occupations and industries, adjustment of, 86
social organizations, 249
membership changes, 249
variations by types, 249
Cowles, 62n
"Croppers," 39
"Crops and Markets," 45n
Crops, value of, 139
Curriculum, school, **193–200**
changes, 193–195
implications in social situation, 198–200
legislative control increasing, 195, 196
progressive tendencies, 196–198

D

Daily Vacation Bible School, 224
Dairy products, 139
value per acre, 141
Dane County, Wisconsin, case study, 331, 332
community area changes in, 97
trade habits in, 154
Dentists, 282
Des Moines area, fecundity ratios in, 114f
trends in rural-urban relationships in, 112, 114–116
value of field crops in, 116f
Douglas, William O., 54n, 149n, 285n
Douglass, H. Paul, 10n
Dramatics, in school program, 201

E

Education, **168–207**
administration, separation of, 292
adult, **202–203**
changes since 1930, 300
consolidation, trend toward, **169–171**
curriculum, **193–200**
effect of rural-urban migration on, 198
extra-curricular activities, 201
grants-in-aid, 288
higher, trend toward, 190
illiteracy decreases, 192
influence of rural-urban relations, 131–133
length of term unchanged, 192
pupils, **187–190**
religious (*see* Church).
state aid, increasing, 177
methods of extending, 179
teachers, **184–186**
trends, major, 202
villageward, 171–174
Educational relationships, differences, 131
Eells, H. L., 327n
Eighteen cities, list of, 112n
location of trade areas about, 113f
Electricity, use of, 63

F

Fairfield, Nebr., Community area of, 93f
Fairlie, John A., 288n
Families, large, 22
Family living, changes in standards of, 61
Farm crops, value per acre, 139
Farm debt, total, 42
Farm income, net movement of, and adjusted for changes in business activity, 12f
business activity and population movement, 10f
Farm land, increase in value of, 41
Farm living, attention given to, 60
studies of, 61
changes in ways of, 59
Farm loans, 42n
Farm management, 51
Farm-mortgage indebtedness, 136
Farm property, in land and buildings, 138
value per acre, 137
values show fluctuations, 137
Farm real estate, estimated value of, 41
"Farmers, Incorporated," 56
"Farmers' thirty-day holiday," 302
Farming, diversified, 52
large scale, 50
part time, gaining, 49
Farms, average acreage of improved land, 134
changes in size of, 48
proportion of all land in, 134
mortgaged, proportion, 136
number in United States, 37t
proportion of all operated by tenants, 1880–1930, 40f
proportion operated by owners, 135

Fecundity, comparison of urban and rural counties, 117
effective birth rate comparison, 118
ratios in Des Moines area, 114f
Federal Farm Board, 59
organized, 45
Field crops, value in Des Moines area, 115
Fire protection, mutual, 105
Flanders, 196n
Foreclosures, 41
Foreign-born, (*see* Population).
4-H Clubs, 17n
Fry, C. Luther, 15n, 18n, 21n, 27n, 36n, 46n, 73n, 84n, 160n, 208n, 209n, 220n
Future policy, questions of, 302

G

Galpin, Charles J., 5n, 9, 12, 156, 286
Gaumnitz, W. H., 183
Gee, Wilson, 13n
Georgetown, Delaware—a progressive school, 197
Government, local, changes—past and future, 285
counties as administrative units, 289
dissatisfaction with, 286
increasing influence of state, 287
reorganization, probable trend in, 295
social implications of, **285–298**
studies being conducted on, 286
taxes, increased, 294
village municipalities, changes in activities of, 291
Gray, 46n
Growth, measures of population change, **80–83**
measures of village, **74–77**

H

Hamilton, 54n
Hamlets (*see* Villages).
Hanna, 54n
Harrison, L. V., 276n
Hawthorn, H. B., 327n
Heer, Clarence, 285n
Highway subsidies, federal and state, 288
History of the study, 313
Hoffer, C. R., 249n, 254n
Home Mission Aid, 236–238
Hooker, Elizabeth, 208n
Household conveniences, increases in, 62
Howell, J. P., 55n, 61n
Howels, 326n
Hughes, Gwendolyn, 58n, 93n, 98n, 184n, 201n, 212n, 242n, 259n, 276n, 282n, 294n, 314n, 374n, 378n

I

Institute of Social and Religious Research, 50, 313
Illiteracy, 192
Industries, Variations, 91
(*See* also Country-village relations.)
Income, farm, fluctuates, 45
"Intermediate Credit Banks," 58

J

Jones, Howard P., 287n
Judd, Charles, 293n

K

Kansas College of Agriculture, 51
Kensler, 50n
Kirkpatrick, E. L., 61n, 62n, 66n
Klein, Dr. Julius, 156n
Kolb, J. H., 156n, 299n, 331n
Ku Klux Klan, 244n, 254, 269

L

Land, farm, increase in value of, 41
trends in ownership, 135
Land, sale for taxes, 46–47
Land values, rise and fall of, 43
Landis, Benson Y., 202n
Leisure time activities, 66
changing, 301
needs of, 130
Libraries, **205–207**
progress, 205
Library, county movement gains, 205
village gains slight, 206
Library service in Walworth Co., Wis., 99
Lively, C. E., 13n, 50n, 61n
Loomis, 13n
Lorge, Irving, 36n, 333

M

McKee, John M., 65n
McKenzie, R. D., 111n
McNall, P. E., 62n, 66n
McNary-Haugen bill, 58
McPherson Four-Square Gospel, 212
Manny, Theo. B., 55n, 286n
Manufacturing, effect on role of villages, 89
changes in agricultural villages, 89–90
Marital status, in 18 areas, 123
more married, 28
"Market Data Handbook," 112n, 154
Mass. Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 270
Mayers, Lewis, 276n
Melvin, Bruce, 50n, 260n
Merchandising, **144–165**
buying habits, changing, 161
buying, where done, 156
chain store units, growth of, **149–151**
competition of towns and cities, **151–161**
effects of population changes, 146
enlarging trade areas, 153
per capita sales, 151, 161–164
retailers younger, 160
shopping, distances travelled for, 158
sources of data, 145
stores, number in agricultural villages, **145–151**
village, readjusted, 159
Merriam, C. E., 285n, 295n
Migration, negro, 5
rural-urban, **8–13**
causes of, 10
effect on education, 198
urbanward, 5
westward, **1–8**
(*See* also Population.)

Milwaukee, Wis., effect of urban competition on merchandising in area, 147
Minnesota, studies of farm families in, 62
Mitchell, D. R., 66n
Morgan, 326n
Morse, Herman, 18n, 208n, 227n
Mortgage indebtedness, increase of, 40, 135
Mortgaged farms in 18 areas, 136
Musical activities, in school program, 201

N

National City Bank, Monthly Letter, 150n
Negroes (*see* Education and Population).
Neighborhood arrangements of country people, changes in, 67
Neighborhood changes, case studies showing, **326–332**
Neighborhoods, Decline of, 67
  effect of depression on, 68
  factors integrating or holding, **68–72**
  relation to village-country communities, 99
  tendency of, in community areas of large villages, 101
New Jersey Commission to Investigate Municipal and County Taxation, 286n
Non-medical practitioners increasing, 282
Nurses, increase in number, decrease in age, 283
  public health, increase, 275

O

Occupations, variations caused by size, growth and distance from cities, 91
  (*See* also Country-village relations.)
Ohio, studies of rural families in, 61
"Oklahoma Cotton Grower," 44n
Oregon, Wis., trade area and high school pupils about, 297f
Organizations, social and recreational, **242–269**
  birth-rates and death rates of, 244
  changes marked by instability, 243
  changes within, **260–264**
    attendance increased, 262
    buildings increase, 263
    finances declined, 262
    membership decreased, 260
  country, variations by size of locality, 251
  county-wide, new development, 265
  more informal, less commercial, 266
  rise and decline, reasons for, **253–260**
    competition and conflict, 253
    little plan or leadership, 253
  types and significant changes, **242–253**
  variations by regions, 246
Otsego County, N. Y., case study of, **328–331**
  community area changes, 95
Overproduction, mechanized agriculture and, 44

P

Parent-Teachers' Association, 201, 246
Park, 131n
Patten, Marjorie, 58n, 93n, 98n, 184n, 201n, 212n, 242n, 259n, 276n, 282n, 294n, 314n, 374n, 378n
Penn. Joint Com. on Rural Electrification, 64
Perkins, 13n
Physicians (*see* Social services, rural).
Policy, question of future, 302
Polsen, Robert A., 156n
Population, acquiring stability, 14
  age distribution of villages, 26f
  age and sex distribution, analysis of, 26
  aging with less gradation, 127
  agricultural village, birth rate declines, 21
    changes in characteristics of, **20–33**
    children fewer, 21
    effect of growth and decline, 29
    more homogeneous, 29
    more older people, 23
    more persons married, 28
    sex ratios, changes in, 27
  community, distribution of—140 V., 103f
  composition of, 34–36
  effect of changes in, on merchandising, 146
  measurement of farm, 10t
  migrants, native-white, born in Iowa, living in other states, 7f
    born in other states, living in Iowa, 6f
  migration, negro, 2n
    rural-urban, **8–13**
      causes of, 10
      effect on education, 198
    urbanward, 5
    westward, **1–8**
  more older people, 23
  movement, estimated to and from farms, 9t
    farm income, business activity and, 11f
  net movement of farm, and farm income, 12f
  rural foreign-born and negroes declining, 20
  rural, mobility and changing characteristics, **1–36**
    changing characteristics, **14–20**
    proportion in nation declining, 15
  rural farm and non-farm, age distribution for, 19t
    show different trends, 16
  rural non-farm, make up of, 19
  (*See* also Village growth.)
Production, adjustment of, to consumption, 303
Professional and personal services, effect on role of villages, 89
Public buildings and improvements, aid by municipalities, 293
Public domain, use of new, 303
Public health, (*see* Social services, rural).
  needs, 130
Public school, (*see* Education, Schools and Teachers).
Public utilities, maintenance by villages, 293
Pupils (*see* Education).
Purnell bill, 58
Pusey, William Allen, 282

R

Rapier, 169n
"Recent Economic Changes in the United States," 52n
Recreational organizations (*see* Organizations).
Religious agencies and services, **208–241**
Research Committee of the State of Miss., 286n
Rice, 63n, 65n
Road improvements, effect on neighborhoods, 67
Roman Catholics, country membership, 210
  budgets of churches, 231

Roman Catholics, contribution of members, 231
cooperation, 240
death rate of churches, 211
length of pastorates, 228
organizations, 225
salaries of clergy, 228
training of clergy, 226, 227n
Rural America, adjustment of, to conditions, 300
Rural, definition, 15n, 144n
Rural farm and non-farm contrasts, 19
Rural-urban relationships, **111–143**
age distributions, differences shown, 119
proportion of children under 10, 120f
proportion 21 to 45 years of age, 121f
proportion 45 and over years of age, 122f
changing, important implications in, 141
definition of terms, 111
effect of distance from city on, 124
gradations illustrated by a single area, 114–116
sex ratios and marital status, 123
by tiers: 1930, **117–126**
trends by decades, **126–141**
aging of population less, 127
agricultural relations, 133
declining birth rate, 126
educational relationships, differences, 131
social implications of age changes, 129

S

Sale of land for taxes, 46–47
Sales, retail, 151, **161–164**
Sanderson, Dwight, 328n
Sanderson, Ross, 220n
Schools, athletics, expansion in, 201
buildings, more new, 174
consolidation, trend toward, **169–171**
reasons for, 170
construction, trend toward new, 175
enrollments, increase, 180
expenses, tend upward, 176
extra-curricular activities, 201
increase of open-country children in village elementary, 172
pupils, **187–190**
attendance improved, 187
more completing full high school course, 189
more per teacher, 186
state aid increasing, 177
terms, length of, unchanged, 192
tuition from students outside municipality, 179
Service areas surrounding villages, changes in, 92
Sex ratios, in 18 areas, 123
changes in, agricultural villages, 27
Sinick, 13n
Smith-Hughes bill, 58
Smith-Lever bill, 58
Source data on, rural-urban relations, **333–351**
rural and village population, **321–325**
schools, **359–371**
social organizations, **372**
village and open country churches, **352–368**
Specialization, tendency toward, 302
Spring Hill, 70
Social life and organization, **59–72**
attention to living takes many forms, 60
Social life and organization, emphasis on family living given expression, 60
changes in ways of farm living, 59
studies of rural family living, 61
(*See* also Organizations.)
Social services, rural, **270–284**
dentists, **282**
nurses, increase in number, decrease in age, **283**
physicians, **276–282**
agricultural villages lose doctors, 278
reasons for downward trend, 279
remedies inadequate, 280
older, 280
rapid decline in number, 276
non-medical practitioners increasing, 282
public health, **273–276**
nurses increase, 275
trend toward county organization, 273
social service, **270–273**
in villages, 275
state aid, 289
veterinarians, 284
State Charities Aid Association of N. Y., 270
State influence in local government, 287
Stores, effects of population changes, 146
chain, growth, **149–151**
number in agricultural villages, **145–151**
retail, 146
(*See* also Merchandising.)
"Successful Farming," studies by, 158, 159
Survey, choice of counties and villages for, 313
villages surveyed, 317
counties surveyed, 318
local areas covered, 314

T

Tax burden, increasing, 46
Taxes, sale of land for, 46–47
increased, 294
Teachers, ages higher, 185
average salaries slightly lower, 181
better trained, 184
more pupils per, 186
turnover, 186
(*See* also Education.)
Teaching costs per pupil decline, 180
Tenancy, increased, some social effects of, 43
Tenants, proportion of all farms operated by, 40f
Tenure, land, farm tenancy increases, 38
Thompson, 327n
Time, uses of, 65
Trade areas in Walworth Co., Wis., 99, 100
Trade, effect on role of villages, 89
Transportation, effect on role of villages, 89
21 counties surveyed, location of, 96t

U

"The United States Daily," 42n, 54n, 150n, 194n
University of Chicago Press, 279
Urban and rural relationships (*see* Rural-urban relationships).

V

Vegetables and cereals, ratio, 139
Veterinarians, fewer, 284

Village, agricultural, definition, 314
definition, 18
Village-country relations (*see* Country-village relations).
Village growth, **73–85**
measures of change under static definition, 80–83
Hamlet comparisons for two decades, 83
incorporated places of less than 2,500 population compared with total pop., 81
unincorporated places, 83
village comparisons for two decades, 81
methods of study, rate of growth measure, 74
amount of growth or decline by 100 person intervals, 76
villages growing or declining more or less than 20% in 20 years, 75
villages of less than 1,000 population, 77
tendencies shown by ag. villages, 77–79
tendency toward less change, 84
Village municipalities, changes in govt. activities, 291
Villages, incorporated, increase of, 291
Villages, location of 177 ag., 25f
Villages, surveyed, 317
Von Tungelen, Geo. H., 327n

W

Walworth County, Wis., changes in general trade areas, 100
Walworth County Wis., community area changes, 98
trade habits in, 156
Water piped into farm dwellings, 65
Wealth, community factors affected by, 375t
relation to various community factors, 379t
and social utilities, **373–380**
variations in villages, 378
White, Leonard D., 285n, 288n
Willard, John, 202n
Willey, 63n, 65n
Williams, J. H., 10n
Wilson, Maud, 66n
Wisconsin, studies of rural families in, 61
"The Woman's World," studies by, 22, 65, 151 157n, 159
Women, ratio to men, 29
Wooddy, Carroll H., 285n, 289n, 290n
Works, G. A., 293n

Y

"Yale Law Journal," 54n, 149n
Yoder, 13n
Young, 13n

Z

Zimmerman, Carle C., 13n, 62n, 147n

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